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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society

FOR 1879-80.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archaeological Society

FOR 1879-80.

Edited by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., &c.

VOL. IV.

BRISTOL:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY C. T. JEFFERIES AND SONS,
CANYNGE BUILDINGS, REDCLIFFE STREET.

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Cases for binding Vols. I., II. III., & IV., will be supplied and the vols. put in same by the Society's Printers, Messrs. C. T. Jefferies and Sons, Canynge Buildings, Bristol, at 1s. 3d. each.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society,

1879-80.

Part I.

Transactions at the Annual Meeting, held at Cheltenham

ON

8th, 9th, and 10th July, 1879.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Cheltenham, on July the 8th, 9th, and 10th. The head quarters of the Society were at the "Plough" Hotel, where a reception room was opened for the accommodation of the members of the Society. The local executive committee consisted of His Worship the Mayor of Cheltenham (Ald. H. Willmott), John Bellows, Rev. William Boyce, M.A., Francis Day, Clarence Mason Dobell, Ald. Baron de Ferrieres, Samuel H. Gael, John Walker, M.A., William Henry Gwinnett, Ernest Hartland, M.A., Sir Brook Kay, Bart., W. H. Knight, Henry D. Martin, Rev. E. Cornford, R. R. Coxwell Rogers, Ald. Skillicorne, Rev. Ellis Viner, M.A., Edwin Williams, Thos. Wright, M.D., F.R.S.E., A. Le Blanc, and Dr. Rye, Mr. John Middleton being local Secretary, who, under the general direction of the Committee, made the necessary arrangements for the Meeting and also for the excursions.

On Tuesday, the 8th, at One o'clock, the Council of the Society, the local Committee, and many other members were received by the Mayor of Cheltenham, at a luncheon at the "Plough" Hotel. His Worship presided, being supported on his right by Mr. C. J. Thomas, the President of the Society, and on his left by Mr. T. Gambier Parry, the President elect. There were also present Sir William V. Guise, Bart. (the President of the Council), Sir Brook Kay, Bart., Sir John Maclean, The Baron de Ferrieres, Mr. J. T. D. Niblett, Mr. G. L. Baker, Dr. Wright,

MR. WILFRED CRIPPS, Rev. DR. CALDICOTT, MR. J. F. NICHOLLS, MR. R. LANG, MR. T. KERSLAKE, MR. J. H. COOKE, the Rev. W. B. OAKELEY, The Honorary Secretaries, MR. P. HALLETT and the Rev. W. BAZELEY, and the local Honorary Secretary, MR. JOHN MIDDLETON, and many other members and friends.

Inasmuch as the opening Meeting of the Congress was appointed to be held at the Ladies' College, at two o'clock, a short time only was available after the lunch for speeches; consequently those which were made were necessarily brief. The following toasts were drunk: "The Queen" was given from the chair, and then followed in succession "The President of the Society," "The President elect," and the "President of the Council," each of which was suitably acknowledged. SIR WILLIAM V. GUISE having returned thanks for the compliment paid to himself, in a genial and humorous speech, proposed "The Mayor," which having been cordially drunk, and the Mayor having courteously responded, the guests separated.

At two o'clock the opening meeting of the Society took place in the Lecture Room of the Ladies' College. It was numerously attended and many ladies were present. The proceedings of the meeting were opened by MR. C. J. THOMAS, the retiring President, calling upon MR. P. HALLETT, one of the general secretaries, to read the report of the Council for the past year. The report was as follows:—

The Council this year submits its Fourth Annual Report to the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, and trusts that it may prove to be not less satisfactory than the reports of preceding years. The roll-call of the Society numbers 506 subscribing members, and in this respect the report shews a slight improvement compared with that of the last year, in which the number amounted to 498 subscribing members. During the year 22 losses have occurred from death or other causes, and 28 new members have been elected. It is, moreover, proper to state that the Council has of late directed its efforts rather to the improvement of the Society's organization and work, than to the increase of the number of members, and it believes that a small expenditure of recruiting energy would be sufficient to raise the number to a much higher standard.

With respect to the finances, many subscriptions are still outstanding, and in certain cases the arrears extend over a longer period than is desireable; but efforts are being made to collect them. The expenditure for the year, too, has been somewhat heavy, but the current account shows a balance in favour of the Society of £225 18s. 9d., from which amounts however, the costs for printing the annual volume, with some small items which belong to the past year, must be deducted. Since the Annual Meeting at Bristol last year, in accordance with the report of Council then read and adopted, the whole of the life subscriptions, amounting to £414 15s. have been invested in Consols, and it is intended that the principal of this investment shall, as heretofore, be untouched by current expenditure. The sum thus set apart may be fairly regarded as a provision to meet the annual claims of life members, which will be covered by the interest accruing from the investment.

During the last year the Council has established friendly and co-operative relations between this Society and many of the more important Archæological Associations of the country. The Society had before this year been in correspondence with the neighbouring Archæological and Natural History Society of Somerset. It now stands in this relation to the neighbouring Society of Wiltshire; to the Society of Antiquaries; the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; the British Archæological Association; the Cambrian Archæological Association; and the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland; with each of which Societies an exchange of publications is made. And, in addition to the current publications, the Council has the pleasure of stating that, in order to aid the Society in its efforts to form an Archæological and Historical Library, the Royal Archæological Institute has presented to the Society an entire set of the Archæological Journal; the Society of Antiquaries has given the whole of the current series of its Proceedings from the year 1859; and the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, with equal liberality, has granted the fourth series of its Journal, consisting of four large volumes; whilst from the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association the Society has had the pleasure of receiving a copy of the "Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire."

It is right that the Council should state that it has been through the kind influence of Sir John Maclean, who is a member of all those Societies, that this Society is indebted for all these valuable works. Through the same gentleman, the Society has also received from the Rev. H. B. Blacker, two parts of a small work entitled: "Brief Sketches of the Parish of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin," and a copy of "The Monumental Inscriptions in the Parish Church of Cheltenham." Sir John has also himself presented to the library a monograph on "The Grammar School of Leigh, in the County of Lancashire, and its Libraries"; and "An Attempt to identify the Arms formerly existing in the Parish Church and Austin Friary of Warrington," by William Beamont, Esq, and J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.; also a "History of the Parish of Helland"; a "History of the Parishes of Tintagel and Trevalga"; and a "History of the Parish of St. Minefreda alias Minver;" all in the County of Cornwall;—the three last by the donor. For which valuable gifts due acknowledgment has been made.

The acquisition of these works, and the gifts and purchases of preceding years, have forced upon the Council the question of a permanent place of deposit for its Books and Antiquites—the question, in short, of the beginning of a Museum and Library. After much inquiry and discussion, the Council has finally adopted a resolution, drawn in the spirit of the report on this subject submitted to the annual meeting at Cirencester in 1877. In that report the following suggestion was made: "That, considering the nature of the district over which the Society ranges, it would be desirable to establish two centres for Museum and Library purposes. According to this view, a centre might be formed at Gloucester for the deposit of antiquarian objects, books, &c., relating to the archæology of the upper part of county; and another at Bristol for those relating to the archæology of that

city and its neighbourhood. Such collections would be made without prejudice to the local collections already existing ; as, for example, that in the very excellent Museum at Cirencester. Donors and lenders of antiquities and books would always have the absolute right of selection of the place of their deposit ; but the works or specimens which the Society might purchase, or which might be given or entrusted to its care without express conditions, would be distributed between these centres according to their special character and interest."

Such was the suggestion made and accepted in the report of 1877. The Council has since communicated with the Museum of Art and Science at Gloucester, and the Museum and Library at Bristol, respecting the amount and character of the accommodation these Institutions might be inclined to, provisionally, extend to the Society, and it has to thank these Institutions for the favourable replies received. Acting on them, it has resolved to commence the establishment of two centres of deposit for books and antiquities—the one at Bristol for Bristol and its neighbourhood, the other at Gloucester for the remainder of the county. All books and antiquities acquired, or to be acquired, by unconditional gift or purchase, will be distributed between these two centres. Those that naturally belong to the locality of either centre, will be appropriated to such centre, and those of more general significance will be arranged as convenience may suggest, always provided, however, and in this proviso it is especially desired to emphasize, that all donors and lenders of books and antiquities will have an absolute right of determining the place of deposit for their respective contributions, and the same principle will obtain with respect to the application of funds specially contributed for museum and library purposes. The Council is not insensible to the scientific advantages of drawing together the materials of a Museum and Library into one place, and forming them into one system, but it also has a sense of that local feeling which views with dislike the separation of its antiquities from the place that produced them, of whose life and history they are the evidences and illustrations, and, indeed, form a part, and it believes that the plan of two places of deposit will work more cordially with this feeling than any scheme of pure centralization. The ordinary subscriptions of the Society are of themselves inadequate to the formation of any considerable collection of archæological remains, and the Council appeal for voluntary contributions in aid of this object. It has now become a commonplace to say that the spirit of history and historical investigation is the spirit of the age, and to this spirit, determined by local interests, and even by local rivalry, the Council trusts to build up in books and antiquities a worthy monument of the historic ground which this Society covers.

In addition to the important annual meeting held last year at Bristol, there has been a winter meeting held at Gloucester, at which papers were read and antiquities exhibited. The papers of the two meetings will form the contents of this year's annual volume, about eleven sheets of which are completed, and the first part of which will shortly be issued. The Council points with a sense of satisfaction to the size and quality of the volume for last year as evidence of the scientific and literary capability of the Society,

and the editor states that the volume for the year now ending will be larger in size and not inferior in character. The grant for the preceding volume was £150, but the actual cost amounted only to £114.

With respect to the internal constitution of the Society no changes of principle have been made, and the Council have none to propose. In exercising its duty of annual nomination of officers, it desires to nominate the Rev. W. Bazeley as an Honorary General Secretary, to act in conjunction with the present General Secretary of the Society. Mr. Bazeley, in two valuable archæological monographs—one printed and the other to be printed —has already shown his interest in the objects of the Society and his ability for its work, and the Council believes that his accession to this office, which he has already provisionally filled for the last four months, will be a valuable addition of strength in the working of the Society. The Council desires also to nominate Mr. F. C. Sewell, whose energetic and efficient services at the Cirencester meeting will be remembered, as local Secretary for the Cirencester district. Subject to these changes the Council begs to nominate for re-election for the next year the names of the officers —theLocal Secretary for Stroud, President of Council, the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries (sectional and local) at present in office. The following members of Council do this year retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election: —Messrs. J. D. T. Niblett, Rev. N. A. Ellacombe, John Bellows, Sidney Biddell, Rev. H. Robeson, Rev. W. B. Oakeley.

The Council has held seven meetings during the year—three at Bristol, two at Gloucester, and two at Cheltenham—and has to express its thanks to his Worship the Mayor of Gloucester and the authorities of the Museum and Library at Bristol, and the authorities of the Ladies' College at Cheltenham, for the accommodation afforded to the Society at those places respectively.

His Worship the Mayor of Cheltenham in moving that the report of the Council be received and the nomination of the Council be adopted, said he was sure they had all heard with great pleasure that report. It was a report which commended itself to everyone. He said he did not possess an intimate knowledge of the Society's proceedings, not having been long a member, but he was satisfied that the officers already appointed, and those who would be nominated, were such as would secure the stability, good management, and success of the Society.

Alderman, the Baron de Ferrieres seconded the motion. The report must have struck every one of them as being not only most ably drawn up, but more interesting than many. There were two suggestions of the Council that he thought must commend themselves very much to their consideration: one of them the propriety of investing all receipts from life members in Consols, instead of carrying them to the annual account, which might give a delusive appearance to the accounts, and the other the establishment of two centres of deposit for books and antiquities, the one for the north and the other for the south of the county. That would increase the local interest in the society, and it was to be hoped would add very considerably to the number of members. He believed that there could not be

a better staff of officers than they had at present, and he most cordially congratulated them on adding the REV. W. BAZELEY to their number.

The motion having been put was adopted unanimously.

COL. BASEVI moved the re-election of the Council, with the additional name of the REV. W. BAZELEY, and

The motion, having been seconded by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, was carried unanimously.

SIR WILLIAM GUISE, BART., proposed a vote of thanks to the retiring President for his valuable services to the Society during the past year. It was not necessary for him to say much to recommend that resolution to the acceptance of the meeting. MR. THOMAS had given much valuable assistance to the Society. He was elected at Bristol at the excellent meeting they had had there, and a very admirable President he had made. He had great pleasure, therefore, in proposing the vote of thanks to MR THOMAS for the ability and zeal with which he had promoted the interests of the Society during his year of office.

DR. WRIGHT seconded the resolution, which was carried with great applause.

MR. C. J. THOMAS, in returning thanks, spoke of his long devotion to mercantile life, but said his first idea of archæology was when, as a boy, he played about Castle Coch, near Cardiff, and wondered what the castle must have been like when in its glory. Now he heard that the Marquis of Bute had restored that edifice, and he hoped ere long to visit it again. The taste early acquired had never left him. He felt honoured in having been selected as their President for the year, and could only say he had done his best, and what more could any man do. He now vacated the chair, and he left the Presidency in the hands of MR. GAMBIER PARRY, whose qualifications for the office were well-known to all.

MR. GAMBIER PARRY, having taken the chair, delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

In accepting the position in your Society to which you have been so good as to invite me, and in the duty which now falls on me to open your annual gathering with an address, I should feel very ill at ease if I were supposed guilty of the presumption of supposing myself capable of affording food for instruction, with spice of novelty enough to satisfy the antiquarian appetite in a society so much more learned in your special studies than myself. My theory of the scope and purpose of an inaugural address is simply to open the way and to leave the course clear for others.

The town in which you have chosen to meet offers but little for your purpose beyond its pleasantness, convenience, and hospitality. In the very centre of the vale which gave the Saxon origin to the Romans' title of Dobun to those who inhabited it, this town possesses nothing to remind you of either of them. The old Chelt is but a pigmy rivulet to give the modern name to so important a place. Probably many inhabitants have never heard of it,

and most know not when they cross it. Antiquaries might have expected, from the strong salt of those famous wells which have been the origin of its fame and popularity, that its name might rather have been Cheltenwych than Cheltenham ; but in those old days when Droitwich obtained that significant name, India, not yet being an English possession, had not disordered that number of constitutions which required the drastic purgation of Cheltenham salts. Health and population have followed in the train, and the happy sequence of a healthy mind in a healthy body has found its best development, in this place, of some of the most valuable educational establishments in England. If cities were left to the wisdom and the mercies of archæological societies to build, they might possibly fall under the censure of being more quaint than convenient : but one thing we should do in our reverence for the beauty and durability of those ancient days, we should build our cities with at least some desire to secure the reverence of futurity.

Ages hence, when England will have long since become a peaceful country of flocks and herds and simple life—freed from the slaveries of vulgar wealth and social pride : no longer torn and wearied by the mania of competition, or disturbed by the agonies of commerce and politics—the learned and quiet-hearted antiquary of those days, wandering over the country, in the midst of which we sit here to-day, will come upon a vast area of heaps and mounds : the natural and sole relics of a great town that was built of brick and plaster. He will meditate on the truth of the old Saxon origin of its name from "Clay," into which its ignoble materials have again melted in shapeless heaps. Like Marius weeping over the ruins of Carthage, he will sit on a hugh green hillock (the only existing record of what once was that famous hostelry, the "Queen's Hotel"), and, sighing out the name of Cheltenham, his eyes will wander over the silent scenery. On the west, a great mound which represents what once was Lansdown ; on the east, another, upon which rose in ancient times the courts and towers of the famous College ; before him are the long ridges which mark the sites of the Old Well-walks, the High-street, and the Promenade,—the dykes and embankments of the ancient railroad, long since consigned to rust and ignominy by easier atmospheric modes of transit ; and, as far as his eyes can reach, stretch out the woody slopes and grass-grown mounds, where stood the ancient Pittville. "Sic transit gloria ?" Its venerable inhabitants had long since wandered to Colorada or Minetoba, and left their homes to the pasturage of flocks, to silence, and to time. And as he meditates on the rise and fall of that great city—its fretting life and surging crowds of mingled wealth and poverty—he will give it the tribute of a tear, for poor and valueless as its body was, it soul was good : for the immortal honour of its history was in the noble foundations for learning and religion, and in the lives of its scholars who have adorned the annals of their country.

But to turn from the ideal archæology of the future to our own, we are here in the midst of a country of great historical interest and importance. The learned and indefatigable Leland, whom Henry VIII. honoured with the title of His Majesty's "Antiquary," in spite of the difficulties of travelling in his time, and consequently also of forming a broad topographical view, quickly declared that Gloucestershire was properly not one county,

but three—the Hills, the Vale, and the Forest. The Romans had taken the right and simpler view, and regarding the line of the Severn as the natural and strategic division of the country, all S.E. of it was included in Britannia prima, and all N.W. in Britannia secunda, for the facility of civil and military government. The fact that the capital of the one was London, and of the other Caerleon, accounts for the early importance of Gloucester, first as the strong frontier town, and afterwards as the great arsenal between the two, chosen for the combined advantages of its fertile valley, its accessibility by water, and the natural strength of its military position. The hills above the city soon became their favourite resort, and there they built their villas. Those hills, like the scenery round their own Italian mountain homes, in the secluded combs, or on the breezy brows and ridges as their taste might be, were in those days covered with an evergreen growth of wild boxtree and juniper, fern and yew. But many other things, besides domestic pleasures and military advantage, made this county a favourite resort. Their four great roads met near Corinium, but a short hour's ride from the brows of those hills, leading by the great Fossway to the extreme North of Britain, by the Ickneild way towards London, and the nearest way to the great depots of Verulam and Colchester in the East. The Irmin-street led to Gloucester and Caerleon, and the Acman-street southwards to Bath. The Roman's Telephone was the trumpet, and his Telegraph the Beacon. The trumpet signals were scarcely within hearing from the legions encamped at Gloucester, even when the wind blew sharp from the N.W.; but the Beacon Hill of Painswick was the telegraph station for the whole valley, and far beyond it. Among other things of utmost value to the Roman inhabitants, were the iron ore of the Forest, and the salt of Droitwich, within easy reach, right and left, as he looked down from the camp and villas on the hills. The variety of building material for which this county is famous, contributed still further to the advantages of their life. It supplied not only all they needed for the construction, but also for the rich ornamentation of their houses. The deep red of one Forest stone, the grey of another, the orange of the ochre pits, the white of Painswick, the blue of the lias, and the yellow of the common oolite, and all the added colours of lime, for his fresco painting; and clay burnt black, red, or brown, made such a choice of materials for architect, painter, and mosaicist, as few, if any, other neighbourhoods in Roman Britain could equal.

Those scenes and subjects of long past time are still open to the archæologist; for the pages of antiquity will bear many turnings, and its ashes will bear burning again for fresh metal, like the old cinder heaps of Roman Iron diggings in the Forest of Dean.

Those days were rich in all the interest that romance and realities can combine to produce. But other ages have rolled by of far deeper interest to ourselves, since the Romans left their villas on the Cotteswolds, and their great camp at Gloucester. Since then nations have shifted and languages have changed. The waves of their migrations increased in power. The Romans had come in no such guise. In former days the Iberians and Celts, who together made the ancient Britons, had been rather civilised than displaced by them. But as the Romans retired from Britain there began that awakening of the nations of the North and West, that

shaking up of all their energy, which prepared the soil and sowed the seed of modern Europe. Iberians had given way to Celts, but just at that time both retreated before that race which gave the name to England. Other nations besides the Romans had come for war, but remained to mingle with our people, and still further to complicate our blood. Later on came the Normans, not only to conquer and to rule, but to infuse our people with the rough valour and vigour of their life. Still later the emigration of the refugees from the Low Countries and from France have effected us in no small degree, and have made their mark. It is to this unparalleled complexity of origin that we owe our energy and versatility.

But I must draw in this panorama and come nearer home. The greatest works of men have been done in troublous times. Even the arts of peace have flourished most when the world has been alert with intrigue and war. In may have been in the intervals of troubled times that those peaceful arts have been known and greeted by men wearied with the passion of destruction. It may have been in quiet nooks and refuges of the world that the poet and the artist have laboured ; but had the atmosphere of their age been asleep with lassitude and indifference, their powers, too, would have lain dormant. They, the very lovers of peace and contemplation, would have dozed inactive, uninspired, but for the stir of events and the energy of men. Though for a while the waves seemed lulled, and the air seemed clear, it was that force of moving life, which, like eelctricity, pervaded the very air they breathed, which gave the motive, the dramatic action and incident, the very vital spark itself to the fire of their unconscious genius.

Thus was it that when all was astir with violence, uncertainty, and change, those immortal works of art and poetry were produced, which shine like stars in the stormy sky, and like angels of consolation among the sighs and sorrows of the middle ages.

The annals of this county are not adorned with the name of any early poet ; but its works of early art, which are chiefly those of architecture and of those arts which cluster round it, are admirable. But we have the notice of one of the earliest recorded portrait galleries, in the conversation between the Abbot of Gloucester and King Edward II., who, when on a visit to the Abbey, remarked with admiration the portraits of his predecessors which adorned the great hall. Whereupon the Abbot adroitly asked the King for his ; but Edward only replied that he hoped soon to see himself in a better place—a strange hope, somewhat awkwardly gratified. In relation to this, it is a remarkable circumstance that the best preserved portrait of any king of England in the Middle Ages, is that of this very King Edward II. It is his effigy carved in alabaster beneath the beautiful canopy of his monument in Gloucester Cathedral. The Puritan mania, which wrecked all else that was beautiful and valuable within reach in that great church, spared this.

I fear to weary you by wandering among a miscellany of things possibly already well known to you ; but I venture to notice two, which greatly interested myself, because they are probably known to very few of our Society.

The village of Kempley is situated on the extreme north-west boundary of this county, and lies much out of the way of ordinary traffic. The old church has nothing about its exterior especially to attract the occasional traveller, but its interior is most remarkable. A few years ago the clergyman of the parish, after long-continued labour with his own hands, and little else than a common knife, laid bare one of the most, if not the most complete work of art of its kind and date in England. The chancel is entered from the nave by a good Norman arch, elaborately painted with ornamental patterns of its own period. The chancel is entirely covered with figure subjects, painted in tempera. The barrel roof, which is of masonry, has in the centre a large figure of Christ, in Majesty, surrounded by sacred figures and symbols, the chief of which are the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and the seven golden candlesticks. The eastern wall on each side of the window has figures and other ornamentation upon it. The patterns on the jambs of the small windows of the chancel walls are very good. But the most effective feature of the work is on each side wall, on which are painted the figures of the twelve Apostles seated under canopies. The whole work is contemporaneous, and of the same style as the architecture, which may be dated at about 1120. It was in admirable preservation, and the tempera having a dead surface, the whole was plainly visible. With a view to its preservation, it was, soon after I first saw it, covered with varnish; but nothing could be more lamentable than the result. One of the greatest values of tempera, or fresco, for painting on walls, among cross lights, is that, on account of the mât surface, they are equally well seen from all directions. What is wanted for their preservation is something that will bind the thin film of painting to the wall without destroying its deadness of surface. I venture to mention this with so much detail because such works are rare, and are exciting an increasing interest. The result of varnish is to destroy all quietude of effect, and the glare is made worse by the broken and undulating surface of the old wall. Some varnishes, too, are astringent, and would detach rather than secure the tender film of tempera.

There is another spot which I specially recommend to your notice. It is at the extreme opposite border of the county from Kempley. I speak of the parish and church of Buckland. From its retired position it might escape observation. When I visited it, about twenty years ago, grand old elms swept across the road, and fine timber in the fields made a lovely foreground to the hills which swept down from the high-up parish of Camden. The cottages were all in their old-fashioned condition; the moss grown mill, and quiet old gothic parsonage with grisaille glass still in some of its mullioned windows; the stream left to wander across the road, and passed by stepping-stones; the old manor house of many gables, humbled in its age to the condition of a farm; the unkempt churchyard, of which a sacred reverence for its quietude was the best apology for its neglect; and, finally, the old church itself, with walls well worn by age and storms, and tinted with the mellow lichen and fresh moss, made a perfect picture of lovely and tranquil picturesqueness. It was a scene of perfect peace, simplicity, and contentment, to touch the heart of the true antiquary, where—remote from the fretfulness of busy life—he could wander undisturbed, and linger in the full flow of his quiet and contemplative humour. The whole atmos-

phere of the place beamed with all that charm which antiquity could add to beauty. I believe that the church is still untouched. In the interior, the remains of old seats and tiles—the unusual feature of testers projecting over the seats against the wall—were rare specimens of their kind. There were frescoes on the walls, but they have been defaced and lime-washed. The old embroidered cope which had served its purpose in former days was then doing duty as an altar-cloth. The sancte-belle cot over the gable of the nave is a perfect model. But, alas! the scene is changed. Although the church retains its interest, the charm which surrounded it is no more. The old mill is modernized, the old timber is cut down, the stream wanders about no more,—the village is marred by ruthless incongruity. The breath of modernism is like the blast of a furnace; and the discomfited antiquary, in the full emotion of his affectionate regret, sighs out the old words (with an English parenthesis), "Eheu fugaces,"—lost to me, lost to me—"Labunter anni!"

We are here in Cheltenham surrouded by a country full of historic interest. Few parts of England have been the scene of such stirring events as that which lies within our sight. The quiet fields over which we now ride and walk between this and Sudeley and Painswick, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, were the theatre of two of the most crucial events in our history. Here was the central spot round which raged those fearful struggles of civil war, by which the climax was twice reached in the history of our Constitution. Unless I overrate the political importance of the siege of Gloucester, it was the decisive blow by which the fortune of the King, long hanging in the balance of agonizing uncertainty, were turned. If we look still further back to just 400 years ago, almost within sight and hearing of this place, there culminated that no less fearful struggle, which, ending in the great battle of Tewkesbury, closing the English thirty years' war. It may, indeed, be possibly said that the wars of the Roses were closed by the death of Richard III., at Bosworth, or even further, that the struggle only found its climax of perfect peace in the union of Henry VII. with Princess Elizabeth. But, unless I again overrate the importance of the historic events of this country it was the Battle of Tewkesbury, and the staining of the victorious White Rose of York by the assassination of the young Prince of Wales by no less a hand than that of the Duke of Gloucester, that broke all the fortunes of a further war. Here it was that the bloom of the rose of Lancaster was shaken from the tree. As a thunderstorm may ravage a country, and may prolong the panic of its inhabitants by the mysterious horror of distant echo, long after some fatal flash has really marked the climax of its fury, so I conceive it to have been in that great war. That war began with those wild blasts which raise the storm of ambition and lash it into crime; and long after the full spending of its force it seemed to linger and to threaten. The black clouds and dreadful sounds of battle and of murder may have rolled on till the air was cleared at Bosworth—but the fatal bolt had long since fallen at Tewkesbury.

It would be great omission, if I were to close this address without at least a notice of some valuable literary productions of late years which have adorned and enriched the annals of this county. One of these is the "History of Sudley Castle," by Mrs. Dent; a work of great industry and

interest, full of historic incident, and completed without stint of costly type and beautiful illustrations. Another with which this county was honoured, by an author from another, was the "History of Fairford Church," by the Rev. James Gerald Joyce, vicar of Strathfieldsaye. His work is one of those mines of archæology which, like others of first class, is valuable not merely for local interest, but for all that extensive study, width of heart, and open eyes, could collect to illustrate and embellish it. I must add my own humble testimony to that of the accomplished author, that the grand old windows of that church are mainly of English work. Although Van Dyck, unacquainted with what English art had been before his day (when it was all but *nil*), may have said, in off-hand conversation, that those windows were the work of Albert Durer, and although such a tradition may demand the respect of age, and the apology for it may be that they were the production of his early years, I am confident that they are no more the work of that great artist than of that other great one who attributed them to him. Glass-painting was not only a fashion, but a passion of the 15th century. The architecture of the day had converted buildings into lanterns, because the cheapness of glass had made it possible to indulge and instruct the eyes of the multitude, with the finest productions of artists' work at from one shilling and sixpence to two shillings a superficial foot. There were many establishments of glass painters in England at that time; Stowe, in the Survey of London, mentions several. Others are well-known elsewhere, and Mr. Joyce records the account of others, and even the details of the contracts made by them for their works. The testimony borne by the art of those Fairford windows, induces the belief that they were the production of one or other of those establishments. There are evidences indeed that Flemings were at least among the executants of those windows, but no hands from the school of Wolgemuth, such as those of the young Albert Durer were, ever drew those quiet draperies. The glass was principally foreign—but the hands which designed and used it were English in the main, and Flemish under English influence.

Another most valuable work relating to this county is the printing of the history and cartularies of the Abbey of Gloucester from the MSS. in the Record Office, under the faithful care of Mr. Wm. Henry Hart, with an interesting introduction and epilogue by himself. The three volumes were severally published in 1863, 1865, and 1867.

But the subject of greatest immediate interest is the recovery by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester of the MS. which was stolen from their library some years ago, and lately discovered in Germany. It is a most valuable restoration of a great work to the very place of its origin. I need not mention more detail about it here than that it is a quarto volume, and dates about the year 1381. It is entitled "Historia Monasterii, St. Petri, Gloucestrie." It is attributed to Walter Froucester, the 20th Abbot, but there is no certainty of its authorship. It is a precious collection of historical events written long before his day, but most probably collated and completed under his influence and authority.

The study of what our fellow men have done in times gone by open to us a field of study and contemplation equalled by none other. If the studies of the historian and the antiquary seem dry, the fault is in the

mind that makes them so. Most true is it that both heart and intellect are fed upon the stores of that continuous stream of life, which has flowed on from age to age, and has left along its banks the scattered pearls of human experience. The whole value of the past to us is in the use we make of it. Geology has a counterpart in the world of intelligence and life. Deeper and deeper as the shaft is driven, richer and more inexhaustible are the treasures of research. We are beings of high powers and great destiny ; and the subjects of our study and the objects of our pursuit are precious or valueless, just as they minister well or ill to the purpose of our being. Our life is equally private or public. All that is known is on the surface of life ; all that is unknown lies beneath. But known or unknown, they are and can be ever no more than lifeless facts and prosy chronicles, till touched by the fire of human thought and sympathies. Facts accumulated into mountains are useless to us till we can assimilate them. Treasure is of no profit till it can pass into currency. You need to breathe and live on the fresh free air which blows over the wide field of life and things gone by, not only to fill your minds with knowledge and store you with treasures of resource, but rather to freshen your motive and brace your heart for good work upon the world, the times, the men around you.

It would be a melancholy system of dry morality and cold philosophy that merely filled the mind with matter, and ignored the heart and soul of humanity.

The value of archæology, whether for the instruction of our youth or the pursuit of our maturer years, lies not in the pedantic knowledge of antiquity, but in thought-felt and heart-felt realisation of its life.

SIR BROOK KAY moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his most valuable address. MR. GAMBIER PARRY'S name, he said, was well-known for his artistic genius throughout the country, and he congratulated the Society on his having accepted the office of President.

SIR JOHN MACLEAN seconded the proposal, which was cordially adopted, and the meeting closed. A visit was then paid to

THE PARISH CHURCH OF CHELTENHAM.

Mr. J. MIDDLETON, who acted as guide, drew attention to various peculiarities and points of interest in the building. The extraordinary thickness in the old Norman wall at the west end was strong evidence that originally a Norman aisle existed on that side of the church. He also pointed to one of the old marks of consecration made by the Bishop in consecrating the church, which it was formerly the custom of bishops to make. A memoir on this church, by MR. J. HENRY MIDDLETON, F.S.A., was read in the evening, which will be printed in this volume.

MR. GAMBIER PARRY, having been appealed to in regard to the east window, said he wished to mention an interesting fact he had referred to in his inaugural address, that this county was famous for its buildings, and no doubt it was from the enormous resource which the local building-stone gave that there was at Gloucester a School of masons. PROFESSOR WILLIS, at the meeti ng of the Archæological Institute, showed by references to deeds

and to the architecture of the Cathedral that there was no doubt the Perpendicular style originated in Gloucester. He, however, wished to add that the great peculiarity was that it began in the middle of the period which terminated in that entirely different style, the Decorated, the real fact being that the window before them was precisely the type of that style which was invented at Gloucester, and which turned the Decorated into the Perpendicular. They would perceive all the elements and feeling of the Perpendicular style in the upper part, but not a single Perpendicular line ran through.

MR. MIDDLETON confirmed MR. PARRY'S remark that the two styles could be seen running into one another.

MR. PARRY tendered the thanks of those assembled to MR. MIDDLETON for the information he had given them in regard to the church.

From Cheltenham a large party drove to visit

LECKHAMPTON CHURCH.

They were there received by the REV. CANON TRYE, who conducted them through the sacred edifice, pointing out the chief objects of interest. The effigies of Sir John and Lady Gifford attracted much attention. The date of execution was considered by SIR WM. GUISE as between 1320 and 1350. These fine effigies will be described and illustrated in MR. HARTSHORNE'S paper in this volume.

We are favoured by MR. J. HENRY MIDDLETON, F.S.A., with the following description of this interesting church before its "restoration":—

The Church is dedicated to St. Peter. With the exception of the chancel (including the Tower) and the east wall of the south aisle, the whole church has been rebuilt and much enlarged westwards and northwards.

Before the destruction of the South Nave arcade, nearly 50 years ago, the church consisted of a Norman Nave, with square-headed Perpendicular windows inserted, a North Perpendicular Porch, which has been rebuilt in a new position; a wide South Perpendicular Aisle, a central Tower and Spire with Sanctuary beyond, both early Decorated in style. The South Aisle was separated from the Nave by a low Norman arcade of three arches; the eastern respond still exists, with a round cap enriched with rude foliage of a Transitional character, shewing that the original Norman Church had a South Aisle, though no doubt a much narrower one. By the north side of this respond a blocked-up doorway seems once to have given access to the Tower Stairs, to which there was another entrance from the inside of the Tower itself. The west wall of the Nave was 4ft. 8in. thick, the side walls only 2ft. 6in. At the end of the South Aisle there was an altar, the marks of the long stone altar-slab in the east wall are still visible; and on each side of the end window was a stone bracket for an image. On the north of this altar, against the Eastern Nave respond, were altar tombs with recumbent life-sized effigies of Sir John Gifford and his wife, date about 1330, in which year Sir J. Gifford died. These are now moved to the south. At the head of each are angels holding the pillow, and there are lions couchants at their feet. The Knight is clad in chain mail with coiffe de mailles, hauberk and surcoat: he has a heater-shaped

shield, and a long sword with richly embroidered belt. His hands are clasped, and his legs crossed.[1] The lady is dressed in gown and mantle, with hood and wimple. Both figures have been decorated with painting. On the south wall there is a 17th century Brass of the Norwood family—for some centuries Lords of the Leckhampton manor.

The tub-shaped Norman Font stood by the north door, it is rudely cut with a cable moulding round the top.

The Chancel Arch opening into the Tower, as well as that into the Sanctuary, is a clumsily-shaped pointed arch with two plain chamfered orders.

The Tower with its simple brooch Spire appears to belong to the beginning of the 14th century, and resembles the similarly placed one at Cheltenham Parish Church. It had a two-light Decorated window, north and south, and stairs at the S.W. angle. The vaulting is plain quadripartite, with champered ribs, and angels' heads carved at the tops of the wall-ribs: a large circular opening has been broken through at some later time to admit of the raising of the bells, of which there are six. Probably to make room for the stalls, the north and south Tower walls below the vaulting were thinned to a bare foot in thickness, the additional thickness above being carried by pointed arches ranging with the wall-ribs of the vault.

The Sanctuary has three good Decorated windows, and a simple quadripartite vault in one compartment, with carved heads at the springings and tops of the wall-ribs. The central boss is carved with a large nimbed head of Christ.

The north and south walls range internally with those of the Tower, but are considerably wider outside. To the south of the high altar there is a recessed piscina with four-lobed bowl, and in the middle of the east wall over the altar, an almery, or locker, with rebates for a door. The unusual position of this suggests that it was intended for a Tabernacle for the Reserved Host.

The usual custom in England was to suspend the Pyx containing the Host over the altar, but this locker arrangement would seem more in accordance with the canon for the reservation, which specifies a "Tabernaculum cum clausura"—(see Lyndwood's Provinciale Angliæ," lib. III., fol. cxxx. verso: Paris edn., 1505.

"Dignissimum Eucharistie Sacramentum precipimus decetero taliter custodiri ut in quâlibet ecclesiâ parrochiali fiat tabernaculum cum clausurâ decens et honestum, secundum curie magnitudinem et ecclesie facultates, in quo ipsum dominicum corpus, non id bursâ vel loculo, proptu comminutionis periculum nullatenus collocetur; sed in pixide pulcherimâ, lino candidissimo interius adornata: ita quod sine omni diminutionis periculo facile possit entraohi et impni."

On the north side of the Sanctuary is a Priest's door. Over the vaulting is a room lighted from the east by a two-light Decorated window

1 See Mr. Hartshorne's remarks on this curious effigy post.- Ed.

not grooved for glass ; to this access is given by the tower stairs. The room bears no signs of having been used either as a living room or a chapel. The originalrude tie-beam roof remains.

Fig. 1.

Outside the Sanctuary, by the south window, is a large Dedication Cross well preserved, it is 8½″ across and is deeply incised into the stone. (See *fig.* 1)

On the buttress west of it there is a large circular Sun-dial, which appears to be in its original place in spite of its vertical position making the upper part useless. There is a similar one also in the face of the south wall at Charlton King's Church.

In the Church-yard outside, north of the tower, is the recumbent effigy of a priest vested in amice, chasuble, alb, maniple, and stole, only one end of which is shown. In his hands, clasped on his breast, he holds a chalice. This interesting effigy is suffering from the effects of the weather, and it would be well if it could be replaced in the church under shelter.

At the west of the church-yard are two very dilapidated recumbent effigies, and a number of stone coffin-lids ; five with floriated 14th century crosses, one gabled, and two rude ones of very early form, flat and plain at the top, each with a cross cut against the end of the head. The party next proceeded to

LECKHAMPTON COURT,

first noticing in the church-yard the effigy of a vested priest, which had been found in the course of some excavations near, and the others mentioned above. In the garden behind Leckhampton Mansion CANON TRYE drew attention to a picturesque doorway bearing the date 1582, which is supposed to be the date of the re-building of the Court. In the fine pannelled drawing-room (part of the original hall), in which the party afterwards gathered, CANON TRYE gave some particulars as to the history of the building. The semi-circular steps at the entrance were, within his memory, at the lower gate. There was a quadrangle in front of the house. In the latter part of the reign of Geo. II. a serious fire burnt down part of one side of the quadrangle. A number of unsightly and dilapidated rooms were left, and about 35 years ago he had them pulled down and remodelled the place, putting in the large window at the end of the drawing-room. It was evident a house existed on the spot prior to the present one. In the course of excavations he had found many old stones, some bearing the *fleur de lis*, showing them to be the debris of a previous building, and traces of older structures were found in neighbouring cottages.

SIR W. GUISE expressed the thanks of the Society to CANON TRYE for treat he had afforded them.

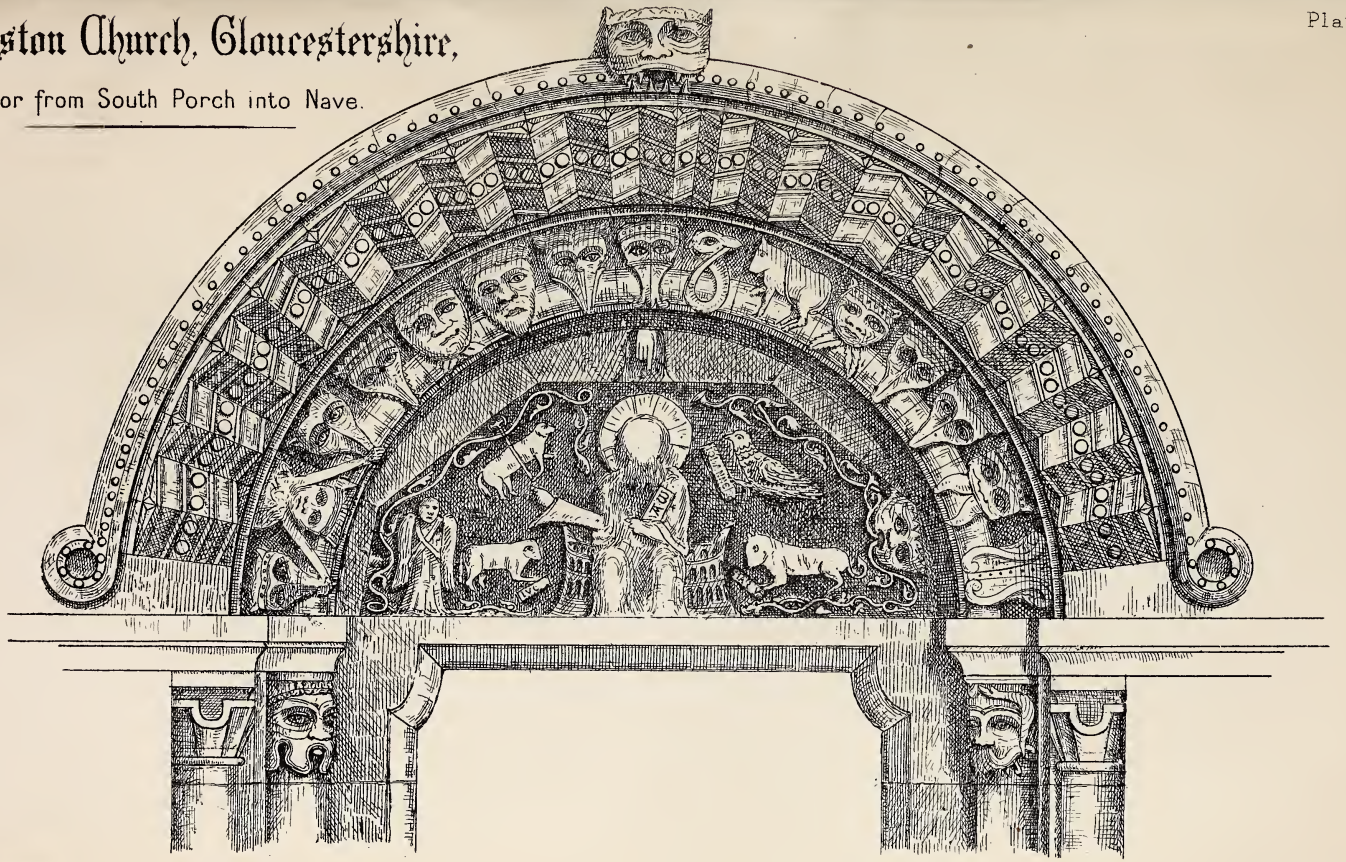
THE DINNER.

From Leckhamptom Court the excursionists returned to their head-quarters at the "Plough" Hotel, Cheltenham, where a sumptuous dinner awaited them, at which an abundant supply of champagne was provided by the courteous liberality of the BARON DE FERRIERES.

Elkston Church, Gloucestershire,

Door from South Porch into Nave.

Plate I.



— Scale —

0 1 2 3 4 feet

W. H. KNIGHT, Archt,
St James' Square,
CHELTENHAM.

Lavars, Lith Broad St, Bristol.

Dessert over, Mr. Gambier Parry, the President, proposed the health of her Majesty in felicitous terms, which was enthusiastically drunk, as was also a toast to the success of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. As the time had then arrived for the reading and discussion of papers at the Ladies' College, the company repaired thither.

The first Paper was by Mr. Gael on Bishop Hooper's Visitation of 1551-2. Mr. Gael said his remarks were founded upon an old book in MS. entitled—*A True Copy of Bishop Hooper's Visitation Book of the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester*. He said it is but a copy, and he was not able to produce the original, but he had no doubt of its faithfulness. The original, so far as he knew, is now nowhere to be found. The Copy is preserved in Dr. Williams' Library in Grafton Street, London, and by the kind permission of the trustees he had been allowed to examine it and to make extracts.

From the account of the book given at the Library, this copy was made by a friend of Richard Baxter named Richard Morrice,[1] one of the non-conforming clergy of 1662, who died in 1701 at the age of 73.

The writing, Mr. Gael said, is a compact hand of the 17th century, which fills 80 pages large folio, but this includes much other matter besides that now under consideration, some of which has been published by the Parker Society in the "Later Writings of Bishop Hooper"; in which also are printed the Articles of Enquiry in this Visitation, but not the Answers of the Clergy, which answers, Mr. Gael very justly remarked, with the names of the patrons and numbers of communicants in the several parishes, are of much greater interest.

The Specific Interrogatories which the clergy were required to answer were the following :—

I. On the Commandments—How many be there ? 2 Where written ? 3 Can the examinant repeat them by heart as written ?

II. On the Creed :—1 What are the Articles of the Christian Faith ? 2 Can the Examinant repeat them ? 3 Can the Examinant prove them by scripture authority ?

III. On the Lord's Prayer—Can the Examinant say the Lord's Prayer by heart ? 2 How knows he that it is the Lord's Prayer ? 3 Where is it written ?

With few exceptions, Mr. Gael said, the answers to the several questions and the names of the rectors, vicars, and curates or ministers who made them ; are given under the several parishes, together with the names of the Patrons of the benefices and the number of communicants in each parish.

Mr. Gael had made a selection of 31 Parishes in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham, of which he submitted the following analysis of the Returns : one benefice (Sudely) was vacant. In two (Whittington and Badgeworth)

1 According to Calamy (vol. I., p. 404) his name was *Roger*. He died at Hoxton, Jan. 27th. 1701, and was buried at Bunhill, aged 73. Strype says of him : (Survey of London, ii., 57) " This gentleman was a very diligent Collector of Ecclesiastical MSS. relating to the later history of the English Church, whereof he left vast heaps behind him, and he favoured me with his correspondence."—Ed.

the Incumbents, being non-resident, were not examined, but their curates were. In one (Wydford) the Incumbent was too infirm to be examined; and in one (Staverton) the vicar had resigned. Of the 27 clergymen who answered, 7 were found to be learned men, some signally so. And one of them, Mr. Ashe, vicar of Alderton, is noticed as competent to preach. Two answered generally well. The answers of the others were unsatisfactory upon some, or all, of the Interrogatories. Two, Astell, curate of Whittington, and Dr. Prinne, Rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, were quite unlearned; 16 were unable to repeat the Commandments as written, or to prove from scripture the Articles of the Creed. One could not repeat the Commandments as written, but he could prove the Articles of the Creed. One could repeat the Commandments, but was unable to prove the Articles of the Creed. Two could not say where the Lord's Prayer was written nor where it was to be found; and one could not say it aright.

MR. GAEL remarked that nearly one-half of the Examinants could not repeat the Commandments as written, nor could they prove from scripture the Articles of the Creed. The question with respect to the number of the Commandments was not so simple, and the difficulty in answering it not so absurd, as it seemed to be, inasmuch as they were to be repeated as *written;* because, he said, the church (Roman?) had omitted the second and split the 10th into two to complete the number ten. The explanation of so many of the clergy failing to prove the Articles of the Creed was probably this:—that most of them had been brought to look to the church and not to scripture as the authority of their faith. Some ministers, not in the above list, say this expressly. For example, Mr. Winter, Rector of Staunton, in the Forest of Dean, said he not could prove the creed unless it were, "thus saith the Church Catholic." MR. GAEL added, there can be no doubt the question was vague and puzzling; as to the Lord's Prayer almost all could say it and knew whose it was, though they were unable to state where it was written.

Mr. GAEL drew attention to the fact that among the *unlearned*[1] was the name of Dr. Prinne, a name once of repute for goodness and learning, particularly antiquarian knowledge, in this neighbourhood. Mr. Doctor Prinne was Rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, and Lower Slaughter, in the north-east of the county. He made no return to the Interrogatories at the Visitation in 1551, but was examined in London, in May, 1552, and pronounced to be *indoctus*. Mr. GAEL said that he learnt from other sources that in July following, Dr. Prinne resigned his benefices, but, with the consent of Bishop Hooper, in the next month, withdrew his resignation.

Among the clergymen noted at learned is Mr. Parkhurst, Vicar of Cleeve, who is mentioned as being "signally learned." He had been tutor at Merton College, Oxford, when Jewell was a scholar there, and his fatherly treatment of young students is mentioned in the life of Bishop Jewell. In Queen Mary's reign he was amongst the clergy of the Reformed Church, who fled to foreign parts to escape persecution. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he returned to England, and was made Bishop of Norwich.

1 It is thought that the "earning" here meant must have been the *new learning*, as it was called, or the doctrines of the Reformation.—ED.

Mr. Gael stated that the number of communicants is given in each parish, and he mentioned 526 as being the number at Cheltenham, but whether this was the actual or potential number, he said, did not appear. If there were any rule as to the age of communicants, the number might be of use in calculating the number of the population. Graunt, he said, in his "Observations on the Bills of Mortality, in London," 1662, refers to this use. He calculated the number of souls in a London parish from it, but not without cutting down the actual number of communicants. He put the age of a communicant at 16, which, Mr. Gael observed, like the other conditions about the ordinance, was too arbitrary to found a calculation upon.

In conclusion, Mr. Gael observed that undoubtedly gross ignorance prevailed amongst the laity at the period in question, and that the clergy, who should have been their guides to knowledge, either did not perceive such ignorance, or, if they did, they esteemed it a condition of mind favourable to devotion; nevertheless, he said, many of the clergy might be good and worthy men, exemplifying religion by blamelessness of life. He was, however, of opinion from these Returns that ignorance was decreasing in 1551, for the proportion of learned ministers was considerable, and there were some preachers. There must, however, he said, be some great cause to account for the apathy of the clergy in general in respect to the low intellectual condition of the laity, and he attributed much of it to the weakening the bond of common brotherhood between the two classes, by the clergy claiming and exercising a power of legislation for themselves, and the power of self correction, in restraint of lay jurisdiction.

The President having invited remarks on Mr. Gael's Paper, the Rev. W. C. Fox, in availing himself of the opportunity, said: "It must be admitted that the impression conveyed by Mr. Gael's Paper of the amount of religious knowledge possessed by many of the clergy in Bishop Hooper's time is very unfavourable, but that in estimating it, it must be borne in mind that the date of the Visitation in question was immediately after the Reformation, when the Church was in a very disordered condition. Many of the more learned and zealous of the clergy, had been obliged, not long before, to relinquish their benefices, because they could not conscientiously accept the king's supremacy and many of the changes which had been made, and very great difficulty was experienced in filling their places with properly qualified persons. Moreover, so far as he knew, the Ten Commandments were nowhere set out in the Old Service Books. Indeed at the time of this Visitation they had not been introduced into our own Prayer Book, for the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., in which they first appeared, only came into use at the end of the year 1552. It is true they are in the Bible, though not in the form of *ten* commandments, but in the time of Bishop Hooper the Bible was not so familiar to everyone as it is at the present day, accustomed as most people now are to hear and read the Bible from their earliest infancy, they, of course, know where to find both the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, but it was not so in those days. Indeed, he was surprised that upon the whole the answers were so satisfactory, for it could hardly be expected that those priests who up to a

few years before had been using the Old Service Books could have readily referred to the place where the Commandments were to be found, or say them by heart, as written. The same observation, as respects the Commandments will apply to the Lord's Prayer, though, no doubt, had those priests been required to say the Lord's Prayer, or the *Pater noster* as it was called, or the whole of Psalms, in Latin, most of them could have readily done it. Even in these days, or within recent years, many of the clergy could not say off-hand the whole of the Ten Commandments, and were obliged to hold their books close to them while they were repeating those Commandments to the congregation. So that they must not be too severe in their observations upon the priests of former days.

SIR JOHN MACLEAN remarked with respect to the apparently large number of Communicants mentioned in the Returns, that at the date of the Visitation, every person of competent age, that is, 14 years or above, was, as a matter of course, a Communicant, and by knowing the number of Communicants in a parish you might easily form a very close approximation of the population. He had worked this out some years ago from a different document and for a different purpose, but inasmuch as the data were the same, so would be the result. In 1377 a Poll Tax was levied of 4d. upon every person, both men and women (the clergy and non-fradulent beggars excepted) above 14 years of age. By a very intricate calculation which he had made by the calculating machine at the office of the Register-General, he had found that the proportion of population under 14 years of age to those aged 14 and above was about one-half, the exact decimal was ·5003. If, therefore, the number of Communicants at Cheltenham in 1551 was 526, the population of the parish at that time was about 1578.

In the course of a brief discussion which ensued, one or two of the clergymen present defended their brethren in respect to Mr. FOX'S remarks, and called attention to the fact that in the early times the number of Communicants was much greater than at present. As the discussion threatened to extend, the President suggested that it should terminate, and in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. GAEL observed that the revelations in the paper would have been amusing if they had not been so painful, and mentioned having been present when a Dean of a Cathedral broke down while repeating the Lord's Prayer. He then called upon

Mr. J. MIDDLETON to read a paper by his son, upon Cheltenham Church which will be printed in this volume.

SIR BROOK KAY, Bart., read a paper by MR. ALFRED S. ELLIS, entitle *Biographical Notes on some of the Domesday Tenants in Gloucestershire*, which will be printed in this volume.

The Chairman thanked MR. MIDDLETON for his admirable Paper, and expressed his regret that the lateness of the hour would not admit of any discussion upon it. He said also he was sure the thanks of the meeting would be given to Mr. A. S. ELLIS, in his absence, for the interesting paper which had been so ably read off-hand by SIR BROOK KAY.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9TH.

Wednesday was devoted to an excursion to Prestbury, Southam, Bishops' Cleeve, Sudeley Castle, and Winchcombe; and though at the

time the party started rain fell heavily, and promised a steady continuance throughout the day, nearly 150 took part in the excursion. Nothing sufficiently interesting to compensate for the inconvenience of leaving the vehicles in the pouring rain was expected to be found in Prestbury, and no halt was made there, the first stoppage taking place at

SOUTHAM-DELABERE-HOUSE,

and a very pleasant visit it proved. In the first place, the rain ceased entirely while the party was inside, and did not again inconvenience them during the day; and in the second, the inspection of the House itself formed a very interesting commencement of an interesting day's work. It was entirely new to most of those who visited it, and who were given a kindly welcome by the Misses Sergison, the present occupants of the mansion, who personally assisted in the exhibition of its treasures, among which a large number of ancient charters was submitted for inspection, a fine collection of rare old china, plate, glass, &c. Mr. S. H. GAEL was so obliging as to offer a few remarks upon the House and upon the devolution of the estate. Speaking from the Minstrel's Gallery in the Great Hall, he said it had been considered by local historians that the Mansion House at Southam was the most ancient dwelling house in the county. In this opinion, however he did not concur, for he believed that Icomb House, near Stow, and several others were of earlier date. It had also been said that Southam House retains more of its original form than any in the kingdom. This might have been the case previously to its sale by the late Mr. Thomas Edwards (the father of the Rev. J. Edwards, afterwards Baghott Delabere) to Lord Ellenborough. Lord Ellenborough's additions are a departure from the original plainer style as seen in the engraving in Lysons' "Gloucestershire Antiquities." The plate in Atkyns' History, he observed, is not a faithful representation, for Atkyns had converted one of the wings, which he, Mr. Gael, remembered as an old half-timber building, into a fine stone structure.

Mr. GAEL stated that the house was built by Sir John Huddleston, who was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1482 and 1499. Leland, he said, writes: "Here dwelleth Sir John Hodleston, and hath buildid up a pretty Mannour Place. He bought the land of one Goodman:" albeit, Mr. GAEL remarked, the site of the Manor of Southam is not here, but at the old house by the chapel.

The Manor House, to which pertained the Chapel, was parcel of the possessions of Humphry Bohun, Earl of Hereford, whose youngest daughter and co-heir carried it in marriage to Henry of Bolingboke, afterwards Henry IV., who annexed it to the Duchy of Lancaster, of which it continued to form a portion until James I. granted it to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who sold it to Richard Delabere, a gentleman of an ancient Herefordshire family.

But to return to Southam House. Sir John Huddleston, MR. GAEL said, was originally of Milholm Castle in Cumberland, and that it was not very clear what had brought him into connection with Gloucestershire; and MR. GAEL suggested that he was possibly identical with a Sir John

Huddleston whom he found described in a will in his possession, dated in 1534, as the husband of her daughter, a Worcestershire lady, but possessing lands also in Gloucester. Sir John Huddleston's daughter, MR. GAEL said, married Kinard Delabere, whom he supposed to have been the father of the above-mentioned Richard. Though not an heiress she received as her marriage portion Southam House, which continued in the name and blood of Delabere until the death of another Kinard Delabere in 1735. Being without heirs he devised his house and lands to his sister's son, William Baghott of Prestbury, who, thereupon, assumed the surname of Delabere in addition to his own. His eldest son, who succeeded him, maintained, to an extended period of life, a high character for hospitality and generosity. He was visited here in 1788 by King George III., who hailed him as a worthy type of an old English gentleman, and proffered him the honour of Knighthood, which was declined. Mr. Baghott Delabere died in 1821, unmarried. His two brothers also died unmarried. He had two sisters, one married a Mr. Webb and died without issue, and the property devolved upon the other sister, Sarah, who died unmarried, having devised estates to Mr. Thomas Edwards, who had married one of her cousins of the Baghott family.

MR. GAEL then directed attention, generally, to the house, observing that the principal rooms still retain in flooring-tiles, carvings on chimney pieces, stained glass in the windows, and pictures suspended on the walls, many interesting memorials of the old family and its connections. Some of the pictures, he remarked, are of great historical interest and high merit. The tiles in the recess in the hall are said to have been brought from Hayles Abbey, founded by Richard, Earl of Cornwall. But this he thought could only apply to a portion of them—*e.g.*, those bearing the following arms :—1. Ar., a lion ramp. gu., crowned or, with a bordure sa. bezanteé, being the arms of the founder. 2. or, an Eagle displayed sa., borne by him as King of the Romans. 3. A Mill and a Tun, being the rebus of Abbot Milton. 4. The same repeated with Pontificals. 5. Abbot Ford. 6. The letters S.S.A., for Stephen Sagur, the last Abbot. 7. A fess humettée betw. six crosses botonnée. 8. France and England, with the rose of Lancaster and Portcullis for the King Henry VII. Of the family class are :—1. Party per pale sa. and Erm, an Eagle with two necks displayed, for Goodman. 2. Quarterly, 1 and 4 az. a bend ar. cotised or, betw. six martlets of the last, for Delabere. 2 and 3 Gu., a fret ar. for Huddlestone. Upon the chimney piece in the great hall is a wood carving of a large achievement : quarterly of eight.

1. Delabere. 2. Gu., a chief counter componé or and az., debruised by a bend ar. 3. Az., a Lion ramp. crusilé ar. for *Braose of Gower*. 4. Paly of six ar. and sa., debruised by four bars gu. for *De Barry*. 5. Checquy gu. and or, a fess ermine, for *Turberville*. 6. Gu., three chevronels ar., for *Justin ap Gurgant*. 7. Barry of six or and az., over all a bend gu. for *Pembruge*. 8. Ar., two bendlets, and a cinquefoil in chief gu. On the same chimney piece on two small shields are :—1. Delabere, impaling : gu., a bend erm. for *Walwyne*. 2. Delabere impaling Huddlestone.

MR. GAEL remarked that the number of pictures is now so great as to require a catalogue to distinguish the Delabere collection from subsequent

additions. In the family class MR. GAEL specially noticed the following :— A man of advanced age, holding a halbert, or staff of office, his bonnet ornamented with jewels. His arms in the corner. A portrait of MR. Palmer, Gentlemen Pensioner to King Henry VIII.

There are also the following Portraits :—

Giles Palmer, of Leamington, Warwickshire.

The Wife of W. Hobby, the grantee of Hayles Abbey. She was the daughter of John Hogdkin. Her daughter was the second wife of Richard Delabere.

Sir John Hales. His daughter Joan was the wife of Kinard Delabere (by Lely).

John, her son.

John Stephens, of Lypiatt, near Stroud.

John Neale, of Allesley, Essex.

Kinard Delabere, Knight of the Shire.

Hester, his wife, co-heir of John Neale.

Edmund Stephens, son of Thomas Stephens, by Ann, his wife, co-heir of Neale.

The historical pictures comprise a portrait of Jane Shore, very ancient, but of doubtful authenticity. Two portraits of King Edward VI., a full length and a half length. A portrait of Sir Thomas Overbury, and one of Sir Robert Pye, the Parliamentarian.

In the windows are preserved the arms and cognizance of King Henry vij., and the cognizance, said to have been granted to the family of Delabere by Edward the Black Prince. As respects this cognizance there is in Bigland's "History of Gloucestershire," under the head of *Cheltenham*, an engraving of a portrait of Sir Richard Delabere receiving it. This is said to have been taken from a picture on panel, in possession of John Delabere, Esq., of Cheltenham, supposed to be one of the earliest oil paintings in this country.[1]

From Southam House the party passed on to Southam Chapel, only a few hundred yards off, on the opposite side of the lane leading to Cleeve. It is a little structure, standing among farm buildings belonging to the old estate before spoken of by MR. GAEL, and pertaining at one time to the Duchy of Lancaster. The original chapel is said to have been erected in 1140, and to have been used for worship up to the time of the Reformation when it was disused as a chapel and fell into the condition of a barn. So it remained until about 20 years ago, when the late Lord Ellenborough, discovering its original purpose, undertook its renovation. This process has been so thorough in its character that it would be difficult to identify it with the barn formerly used by the farmer, whose homestead stands hard by, or with the original chapel. Lord Ellenborough, with questionable

1 This is one of the many family myths connected with the heroic Black Prince which will not bear criticism. The character of the Delabere crest, which, as recorded in the Heralds' College, consists of : *party per pale ar. and az., a plume of five feathers surmounted by three, issuing out of a ducal coronet*, doubtless gave rise to the tradition, of which the picture referred to is a long post facto representation. The whole style and character of the painting stamps it as a work of the latter end of the 17th Century, and the crest as depicted therein consists of the five feathers only.—ED.

taste, ornamented the interior with a number of brass tablets, as memorials of celebrated personages, amongst others, Henry, Lord Brougham, Lord Lyndhurst, Sir Charles Napier, Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, and his father, Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and the Duke of Wellington. Another object which reminds the spectator of the Iron Duke is an equestrian statue in the north-west corner. A handsome brass tablet in the form of a cross, at the back of the Communion Table is to the memory of Octavia, Lady Ellenborough. There are few Archæological features of interest. The principal is the doorway, with its Norman abacus, and a small window on the north side of the Norman chancel. Close by is the old manor house, in which, however, the old timbers are hidden by plaster, and there is, near, a large building used as a barn, which was once the tithe barn in which the sheaf-tithe was received for the Bishop of Worcester, the benefice having been formerly appropriated to that see. The party next proceeded to

CLEEVE CHURCH.

MR. JOHN MIDDLETON described the interesting structure with considerable minuteness. He observed that the benefice was formerly a Peculiar exempt from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon, but subject to the Visitation of the Bishop.

An interesting and able memoir on this church, by MR. J. H. MIDDLETON, F.S.A., will be found printed in this volume.

An interesting recumbent Effigy, supposed to be that of Gibert the Bold, of the time of Edw II., was especially admired. This will be found illustrated and remarked upon in MR. HARTSHORNE'S Paper in this volume. The large and elaborate marble monument commemorating the first member of the Delabere family who settled at Southam, also received favourable notice. Attention was drawn by SIR W. GUISE and MR. GAMBIER PARRY to the recumbent figure of a nun placed near this monument, and to the artistic lines and traces of colours shown in the drapery. Some time was occupied in the inspection of the church, and in tracing the additions made to the original Norman structure. Leaving Bishops' Cleeve the party drove by Gothrington and Winchcombe to

SUDELEY CASTLE.

Here they were cordially received by MR. and MRS. DENT, and liberally entertained at a magnificent luncheon which was served under a spacious marquee which had been erected on the castle green. Nearly 150 ladies and gentlemen sat down. MR. GAMBIER PARRY presided, supported by MR. and MRS. DENT, SIR WILLIAM GUISE, MR. CHRIS. J. THOMAS, &c. At the conclusion of the luncheon, the PRESIDENT said all toasts had been interdicted, but he must make one transgression, and give them the health of their host and hostess, MR. and MRS. DENT, whose cordial and courteous reception of them that day they most heartily appreciated, and could not fail to long remember. He proposed, in the heartiest possible manner, the host and hostess, and, on behalf of himself and the members of the Society, expressed their warmest thanks for the very flattering and hospitable man-

ner in which the Society had been welcomed to Sudeley Castle. The toast having been drunk with three cheers, MR. DENT briefly responded. He expressed his gratification at seeing so numerous a company, and observed that he had heard of a general officer who remarked that he would rather go through the battle of Waterloo than make a speech. He (the speaker) was not a fighting man, but felt great difficulty in making a speech. He quoted old Fuller's quaint observation with respect to Sudeley Castle as being of subject's castles the handsomest habitation, and of subject's habitation the strongest castle. MR. DENT added that now the visitors would see the mere shell of what the castle was in the time of Edw. VI., and though he could picture to himself what the place might have been in all its glory, it was now a mere shell; but, he further added, such as it was, it was heartily at their service. He then intimated that MR. WILFRED CRIPPS would give a short account of the Castle, and invited his visitors to draw around the central table they might the better hear him.

MR. CRIPPS said—It is only at MRS. DENT'S bidding, and in obedience to your President's request, that I venture to turn your attention for a few minutes from the poetry with which Mr. GAMBIER PARRY invests the present to the dull history of the past. If I begin by saying that the annals of Sudeley Castle naturally divide themselves into five heads, I hope you will not be alarmed by the prospect of a long sermon, as some of these heads need not detain us long. These five periods are—First, from the time of Ethelred to that of Stephen; second, from Stephen to 1469; third, from 1469 to 1553, in which we must principally refer to it as the residence of Sir Thos. Seymour, Lord High Admiral, with his wife Queen Katherine Parr; fourth the time of its occupation by the Lords Chandos from 1553 to 1649; and lastly, from the Commonwealth to the present day. As to the first, suffice is to say that though there are the usual notices in Domesday as to the demesnes of Sudeley, recording that it consisted of 10 hides and had so many villans, there is no account of a house other than the record in Leland, that "there had been a Manor Place at Sudeley before the building of the Castle, and the platte is still seen in Sudeley Park where it stood." Traces of the park wall and of this ancient house are to be observed in the broken ground, beyond the east terrace, and some of its foundations were discovered by Canon Lysons. This, however, brings us to the first days of a regular castle in the time of King Stephen. Of this there are remnants still left, and in particular he notices a low embattled tower and archway, into which were in later days built the apartments of Queen Katherine Parr. This, in the late Sir Gilbert Scott's opinion, is an undoubted remnant of the more ancient castle. At the time of Domesday the lands belonged to Harold, Lord of Sudeley, the grandson of Goda, daughter of Ethelred, by her first husband Walter (or Droga) de Mantes, and from his last heir, or rather heiress, 300 years later, it passed to the Botelers, who then possessed it for three generations. To the third owner of this name we owe the castle, or some of it, as it at present stands. He was Ralph, first Baron Sudeley, who built, or re-built, his castle "ex spoliis Gallorum," and part of it with the ransom, it is said, of a French prisoner of high rank named Portmare, from whom one of the great towers takes its name. The remains of the splendid hall, with its great fireplaces and lofty mullioned

window, attest to the magnificence with which it was then restored—alas ! it must be said, to its owner's ruin, for the fortunes of war veering from the Lancastrians to the Yorkists, King Edward IV., who bore no good will to the Lord of Sudeley, cast a longing eye upon this favoured stronghold ; whereupon, says Leland again, "by complaints he was attached, and going up to London he looked back from the hill of Sudeley and said, 'Sudeley Castle thou art the traitor, not I'" Falling thus into the hands of the crown, it was granted out from time to time to successful statesmen or winning courtier, but each lost the castle before long, and some their heads too ; indeed it was so precarious a holding that in the reign of Henry VIII. it was already going to ruin, and our often quoted chronicler plaintively adds, "more pity." At last, however, it was granted by the young King Edw. VI. to his uncle Sir Thomas Seymour, who restored it splendidly for a home in which to receive his royal wife Katherine Parr. The apartments still to be seen in the south-east part of the quadrangle were prepared for her use, but she only lived in them a few months, dying on the birth of a daughter at the early age of 36. The account of her grand funeral by Brooke, a herald of the time of King James I., will be found in the Cotton Library. No lady had ever grander obsequies, but none, sad to say, a rougher fate in after times, her tomb being desecrated over and over again by ruthless hands, until her remains received fitting sepulture once more at the hands of the present owners of the castle. No long time after her untimely death died her more unfortunate husband, perishing on the scaffold like others of his predecessors. And now we come to the grant of the castle to the noble family of Brydges, who restored it once more, and made it again a Gloucestershire residence of note for several generations, and for a time it became second only to Berkeley. The initials of Edmund Chandos, second Lord, are carved on the mantelshelf in the 'Chandos' room. Giles, third Lord, had the honour of entertaining Queen Elizabeth no less than thrice, the last time being with great magnificence in 1592, and later on, Grey, Lord Chandos, earned himself "by his great house-keeping" here, the title in the country-side of King of Cotswold. Disastrous days again come round, and taken and re-taken by King and Parliament, it eventually was surrendered to Waller, not without some battering with cannon ; and soon after Sudeley Castle ceased for many generations to be a residence. Our Cotswold stone for once served a good purpose, for it is recorded that in consequence of its softness the cannons did not much execution, and it was a chance shot only that has left its mark on the octagon tower, where it may still be seen, and killing the cannonier occasioned the surrender of the castle. No compensation was forthcoming to its owners for the damage done, though £6000, it is recorded, would not have restored it to its fair proportions. Thus ends for a time the eventful history of what old Fuller called "of subjects' castles the handsomest habitation, and of subjects' habitations the strongest castle." From hand to hand it passed in the same or an increasing state of decay until it reached the hands of enlightened owners, who have restored it to what it now is, and whose descendants are so hospitably entertaining our Society, to-day. I am sure I am echoing a general wish in adding our united hopes that MR. and MRS. DENT may have a better future here than some of

their predecessors, and keep their heads and their castle for many a long day.

MR. C. J. THOMAS, ex-President of the Society, offered the thanks of the company to MR. CRIPPS for his interesting address, and the company then dispersed about the castle and grounds. MRS. DENT herself, with consummate grace and kindness, leading the way, conducted a large party, consisting of the President and friends, over the inhabited portion of the castle, pointing out the numerous objects of historical and archæological interest, some closely associated with the castle and its former Royal and Illustrious inhabitants, and others more or less so associated, which, by the taste and liberality of MR. and MRS. DENT, had been acquired and brought together within the castle walls. Among these treasures were many Roman remains discovered in the neighbourhood, old plate, coins, etc., and especially precious were the books, pictures, and various other articles, memorials of Queen Katherine Parr. All were, with the utmost freedom, thrown open to the inspection of the whole party.

Having walked through the dwelling apartments, furnished with admirable taste in accordance with the character of the building, the party proceeded to the Chapel to visit the grave of the Queen. This Chapel was in ruins when the estate was acquired by MR. DENT. The revolting desecration of the Queen's grave has already been related (see Archæologia, Vol. IX., p. 1, and Maclean's Life of Sir Thomas Seymour, p. 67). The building has been restored under the superintendence of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, and a recumbent effigy in white marble under a canopied tomb, from a design by the same gentleman has been erected by MR. DENT over the Queen's remains. The inscribed lead-plate which covered the Queen's breast is still preserved in the chapel.

The Roman tesselated pavement which was found upon the Wadfield farm, parcel of the Sudeley Estate, and is now laid down in one of the greenhouses, was then inspected and the party proceeded to

WINCHCOMBE,

very highly gratified with the visit to Sudely Castle, which will always be remembered as the most pleasant incident of the Cheltenham Meeting.

On arriving at Winchcombe the party first visited an old Jacobean house in the town, which MRS. DENT is having fitted up for a local museum. They thence proceeded to the old Parish Church, recently restored, where they were courteously received by the vicar, the Rev. NOBLE JACKSON, who pointed out the most remarkable features of the building and articles deserving of notice. In doing this he first gave a suscinct account of its history and condition previous to its restoration. He remarked, *in limine*, that Winchcombe Abbey was founded by Offa, King of Mercia, of which kingdom Winchcombe was the capital, and that it was completed by King Kenulph.

The Parish Church, he said, was originally situate at the other end of the town, but that at an early period it had fallen into decay. In 1288 a Vicarage was assigned by the Bishop of Worcester, under which the vicar was to receive from the abbey a stipend of £10 a year, and to have all the small tithes, oblations, and obventions together with the tithe of hay. Still,

however, the church was suffered to become a complete ruin, to account for which MR. JACKSON suggested that probably the good people of Winchcombe preferred the services at the abbey to those at the parish church. The result was that the Nave of the Abbey Church became generally used by the parishioners, until, in process of time, an Abbot arose, who, being desirous of greater seclusion for his brotherhood, and of doing more good in his generation, influenced the good people of Winchcombe to re-build the Parish Church A sum of £200 was collected from among the inhabitants, and the work was commenced in 1480, on the site of a little chapel dedicated to St. Pancras, but the sum collected being found insufficient for so costly a work, the building was completed by Ralph Boteler, Lord of Sudeley. The rectory of the parish having been appropriated to the Abbey of Winchcombe, upon the dissolution of the abbey the revenues fell into the hands of the King, and the impropriate tithes were afterwards granted at different times to different persons : the small tithes were and are paid to no one.

In 1690, he said, the Chancel, which had partially fallen down was re-built (as were also the upper ends of the aisles), and a barn-like roof, which he well remembered, placed over it. Four clear-story windows in the chancel were taken away, and the easternmost had their tracery removed and were made square-headed, whilst the high-pitched roof enclosed the central pinnacle over the east window.

About 120 years ago, he said, a "ladies' gallery," as it was called, was constructed over the chancel screen, extending some four or five feet in front, and eastward to the first column. At the back of this was a lath-and-plaster wall, some 15 feet high. There was another gallery, he said, at the west end, in which the organ was placed, which completely blocked up the tower arch. The pews, he said, were of all sizes, shapes, and materials. Near the south door, one pew back was placed upon the top of another, to keep off the draught, but such was the condition of the church that it did not seriously affect the general harmony. The altar was placed at a distance from the east wall, and seats for the "quality" were ranged around the north, east, and south of it, so that they might partake of the Holy Communion with ease and dignity.

Such was the condition of the church, in April, 1872, when the restoration was commenced under the superintendence of Mr. J. D. Wyatt, as architect, and it was opened for Divine Service in March, 1873, but since that date several of the pinnacles of the church had been blown down in the violent gale which uprooted many of the trees in Christ Church Avenue, Oxford.

Mr. JACKSON then directed special attention to the old Altar Cloth, made from the orphries of a vestment, ornamented with figures of Saints, which, according to tradition, were worked by Queen Katherine of Arragon and her maidens—to a few ancient tiles, which had been found during the restoration, and which had been preserved and relaid in the vestry—to the old Parish Chest, cut out of a solid tree, now cased with oak, which, he said, contained a Charter granted to the town by Queen Elizabeth—to the sedilia and piscina—the alms box, the carvings on the organ—the room over

the porch—the second altar and the doorway at the south side of the east end of the chancel, which, he said, taken in connection with the preparations outside, shew that a vestiarium, or a library, was intended to be built beneath the large east window. In conclusion, Mr. JACKSON said: "These few words which I have taken the liberty of adressing to you, who know so much more of architecture and archæology than myself, and, though they possess no value of their own, I hope you will kindly receive them as an earnest of the hearty welcome I desire to give you all, and a proof of my willingness, at your Secretary's request, to attempt any task under the hope of interesting you, even in a slight degree, in our church and town."

The following additional remarks on the architecture of the church have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. HENRY MIDDLETON, F.S.A. :—

Winchcombe Church is a very interesting example of what is comparatively rare in England, viz :—a church built all at one time, from one design, and even now quite unaltered, except with regard to its furniture and fittings, the original having nearly all perished. The result is that the building has a less picturesque, but more harmonious, appearance than the usual Parish Church which has been built piece-meal through several centuries, to suit altered needs, and increasing accommodation.

The church consists of Chancel, Nave, two broad Aisles, with a West Tower, and South Porch. The length inside, exclusive of the Tower, is about 134 feet. The Nave 24 ft. wide, the Aisles 15 ft. wide, and the Chancel 52 by 24. Internally there is an arcade of eight Bays, with octagonal shafts and low four-centred arches. The style of the whole is late Perpendicular, with very simple details. The Aisles continue eastward as far as the arcade, and beyond this the sanctuary projects 26 feet—the full width of the nave.

The Chancel was formed by a high rood-screen and loft at the second pier from the East, running the whole width of the Church, and screening off the two eastern Bays of the Aisles, which thus formed chapels for chantry or guild services, or other purposes. This screen has been taken down and altered, and the Rood-loft has been destroyed, but the stairs to the Rood-loft still remain in the outer wall of the North Aisle, showing that the present position of the screen is the original one, and that the loft, as well as the screen, ran across the whole width of the church. There is no arch to separate the Chancel from the Nave.

The Clerestory is high and light in appearance, with large four-light square-headed windows, with cusped arches in the head of each light, over each Bay of the Nave Arcade, and the general proportions of the whole Church internally are extremely pleasing. The roofs throughout, except the part over the Sanctuary, are original, though much "restored"; they are of oak, and have handsome panelling inside, and richly moulded ribs, set to a very flat slope. They are all covered with lead.

On the south side of the sanctuary there are rich triple sediliæ, with elaborate canopies, and niches now empty. Nearer the Altar is a projecting piscina, with a curious semi-octagonal sort of canopy over it, on

which are carved three shields with the arms of the Abbey of Gloucester, the Abbey of Winchcombe, and Lord Boteler of Sudeley, one of the Founders of the Church.

In the east there is a doorway, now blocked up, which, probably, led into a low sacristy, the side walls of which can still be partly traced outside. This unusual position for the sacristy was probably selected for the sake of having it as near as possible to the Abbey Buildings for the convenience of those monks who assisted in the Parochial Services.

In the alterations in 1690, the Sanctuary was covered with a high-pitched roof, quite out of keeping with the rest of the design, probably to save the expense of laying the roof with lead.

In 1872 the side windows and battlements of the Sanctuary were restored, and the roof lowered to its original pitch. Up to that time the Old Puritan arrangement of seats all round, with the Altar in the middle still remained, a state of things which even now exists at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury.

Besides the High Altar, there was an Altar at the east end of each Aisle ; the size and exact position of the southernmost of these is apparent from marks on the masonry of the end wall, where the Altar has been cut away. On the south of the church, in the third Bay from the west, there is a large Porch, richly groined with lierne vaulting ; above it there is a room approached by winding stairs, opening from the inside of the church. That this was a living room, probably for a Priest, is shown by the large fire-place with stone mantel, by the side of which there is a recessed seat, once lined with wood. The window is rebated inside for shutters. The winding stairs continue past the room, and lead out on to the roof of the south Aisle. On the north, opposite the Porch, there is another doorway, but without a Porch, the south side being the more important entrance towards the town. There is also a west door opening into the Tower. The Tower is of a very ordinary late Perpendicular type, with battlements, and a large archway opening into the Nave.

Except the somewhat mutilated Rood Screen, nothing remains of the old stalls or other fittings, with the exception also of a very rich and delicately carved organ case of 17th century work. The Font and its cover are of about the same date, and so is a very handsome brass Chandelier, which still hangs in the Nave. There is a fine embroidered Altar Frontal, dating from the 16th century, and some interesting Communion Plate : viz., Chalices, of 1570 and 1677 ; Paten, 1686 ; and Flagon, 1709. There is also an oak Alms Box, with three locks, for the Vicar and two Churchwardens, according to the Injunctions of Edw. VI., 1547.

From Winchcombe the party returned to Cheltenham, over Cleeve Hill, which commanded a fine view of the magnificent scenery of the Valley of the Severn.

EVENING MEETING.

In the evening a Conversazione was held at the Ladies' College, at which there was a numerous attendance. In a large room on the ground

floor a local Museum was very efficiently arranged under the obliging supervision of Mr. H. D. Martin. A descriptive list of the interesting objects exhibited will be found, post. After allowing time for a careful examination of the Museum, the reading of Papers was commenced in the Lecture Hall; Mr. Gambier Parry, the President, occupied the chair. Papers and Addresses on the following subjects were submitted to the meeting:

1.—*On the Poyntz Family.* By the Rev. H. L. Thompson, Rector of Iron Acton.

2.—*On the Skulls found at Balas Knapp.* By Professor Rolleston, M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Oxford.

3.—*On British and Roman Remains in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham.* By G. B. Witts.

4.—*Notes upon the Regal Monuments at Worcester and Gloucester, and upon certain Monumental Effigies at Pershore, Tewkesbury, and in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham.* By Albert Hartshorne, Secretary to the Royal Archæological Institute.

5.—*Some particulars of the Parish of Pebworth, Gloucestershire.* By Rev. Thomas Wadley, M.A., Rector of Naunton Beauchamp.

Time would not admit of the two last mentioned Papers being read, but they were accepted as read, and, as well as the first and third, will be printed in this volume.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Thompson's Paper, the President expressed the thanks of the Society to that gentleman for his very interesting memoir, and called upon Professor Rolleston to address the meeting.

Professor Rolleston gave a very animated and instructive address on Certain Crania found some years ago in a tumulus at Belas Knapp, near Winchcombe, and now preserved in the Cheltenham Museum. The Professor pointed out the characteristics of that ancient epoch known as the "Stone Age," a period of uncertain antiquity, before the use of metals was known to man. All implements, tools, and weapons were made of stone or flint, except fish-hooks, needles, and some other articles, which were made of bone. This epoch has been divided into two periods, an earlier and a later, called the Palæolithic and the Neolithic periods. To the latter of these periods must be attributed the "long-barrows" in which no object of metal has ever been discovered. To this class belongs Belas Knapp. Many skeletons were found in this barrow, the bodies having been interred in a sitting posture. All the skulls, with the exception of one, which evidently appertained to a later interment, belonged to a dolichocephalic, or long-headed race—men whose skulls were boat-shaped. The Professor compared some of the Belas Knapp skulls, with skulls of the ordinary type, and the difference in form was very striking. These long-headed men, the Professor said, may be regarded as the earliest *known* inhabitants of this Island. The men who made the implements found in our river (gravels ?) were, of course, earlier, but of them we had no remains except these implements. The long-headed men would seem to have lived

under a patriarchial, or aristocratic, government. in which the many served the few. The long barrows, as a rule, contain few interments, whilst the labour involved in their construction must have been very great; shewing that they must have been made by a large number of persons to do honour to the illustrious dead.

The round barrows, he said, were ten times as numerous as the long barrows, and were of a later date. They belonged to the Bronze Age, and were made by a race of men who followed and conquered, without always extirpating, the long-headed men. The later race were brachycephalic, or round-headed men. In their tumuli are found, in addition to some of the stone implements of the former period, bronze celts and swords. They would not seem to have exterminated the earlier race, though it must be laid down as a maxim, and which the Professor strongly emphasised, that, as a rule, as in the long barrows we find no round skulls so in the round barrows we find no long skulls;—"long barrows, long skulls; round barrows, round skulls."

The long barrows, though few, are distributed all over the country, from Caithness to Cornwall. They are all much of the same type. A not uncommon and certainly a widely-ranging one was the following: at the upper end is a mass of rubble, behind which is an entrance between two large stones to the sepulchre chamber. This he illustrated by sections and diagrams. Though "long-headed," from their broken skulls he did not look upon them as "wise" people, and he did not consider them our ancestors, and they were very little advanced in civilisation. They had as domestic animals the pig and the ox, but they had no corn food. Both the long and the round headed races had an idea of continuity. They placed their dead in chambers not unlike their living home, and, as far as they could, provided for what they supposed might be their future wants; whereas the Romans, who disbelieved in a future state, buried their dead without any implement or weapon. A few tear bottles and an urn of ashes was the end of life.

THURSDAY.

The final meeting of the Society was held at Corn Exchange at 9.30 a.m. Owing to the early hour of the meeting the attendence was not large, as members from Gloucester and other places, were, on acconnt of the train arrangements, unable to be present.

The business of the meeting was commenced by the President, MR. GAMBIER PARRY, proposing the following resolution:—"That the thanks of the Society be given to the Mayor and Corporation of Cheltenham, to Miss Beale and the Council of the Ladies' College, to the Authorities of the Cheltenham College, to Mr. and Mrs DENT, to the Misses SERGISON, of Southam, and to the Clergy and Gentry of Cheltenham and its neighbourhood generally for the facilities they had afforded the Society for the inspection of the Archæological Remains of the district and for the hospitality and welcome with which they had received the Society."

In the absence of the Mayor of Cheltenham, the BARON DE FERRIERES suitably returned thanks on behalf of the Mayor and Corporation.

The 2nd resolution, also proposed by the President, was "That the thanks of the Society be accorded to Mr. Middleton, the Rev. Canon Trye, Mr. Gael, Mrs. Dent, Mr. Wilfred Cripps, the Rev. W. Bazeley, the Rev. W. Boyce, Mr. Knight, the Rev. W. W. Liddell, and the Rev. C. Wilson, for the valuable services rendered by them as guides in the excursions."

Thanks were returned by the guides through Mr Gael.

The President then proposed, that the thanks of the Society be given to the Local Committee, and especially to the Local Secretary, Mr. Middleton, for their most important services in the general conduct and management of the meeting, and to Mr. Martin for his successful exertions in the collection and management of the museum, to which resolution Mr. Middleton replied. The next resolution was "That the thanks of the Society be given to the gentlemen who have kindly prepared and read the several papers contributed to the meeting." Thanks were returned by Mr. Witts.

A discussion then arose relative to the next place of meeting of the Society. The town of Chepstow was warmly advocated by a gentleman present as a desirable place of meeting for the Society, for though not, itself, within the county, it would form a covenient centre for exploring an interesting portion of the district between the Severn and the Wye, and for visiting the Roman Stations at Lydney and Sodbury, to say nothing of Tintern and other objects of interest on the Monmouthshire side of the Wye.

Mr. Dorrington then rose to communicate to the Society what possibly might be done from Stroud as a centre, in the neighbourhood of which, he said, there was a considerable number of objects of interest. In Stroud, he said, was one of the most remarkable Roman pavements in England, superior even to most of those on the continent, and which might, through the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, attract the notice of other Archæological Societies in the country—Stanley Church, the ancient portion of the Manor House of Frocester, Hetty Pegler's Stump, with the remarkable nail which had been interpreted in a remarkable manner, would make up a very pleasant and highly interesting excursion for the first day, and it would also lead them through some of the most charming scenery in the county. The next excursion might be through Bisley to the tumuli at Rodmarton, the house and Norman church at Avening, having perhaps the remarkable advantage of being unrestored. He could assure the Society that they would be received at Stroud with all possible hospitality.

Sir John Maclean asked whether Mr. Dorrington intended it to be understood, in mentioning the visits to the tumuli, that permission might be obtained to open some of the barrows; the outside, as a rule, was not very interesting.

Mr. Dorrington explained that no doubt such permission might be obtained. Hetty Pegler's Stump was the property of the Cotswold Naturalists, but he felt sure they would allow the archæologists to visit it.

The time proposed for the starting of the excursion having arrived, and as no decision as to the place of next year's meeting had been arrived

at, the PRESIDENT remarked that the question would be whether or not the meeting would allow this matter, and also that of the election of the future President, to be left in the hands of the Council. This it was agreed should be done.

SIR WILLIAM GUISE, in proposing that the best thanks of the Society be given to MR. GAMBIER PARRY for his efficient services and attention to the interests of the Society during its visit to Cheltenham, said that they all felt they had been singularly fortunate in having MR. GAMBIER PARRY as President. He had, throughout, conducted the business of the Society in a manner which was very delightful and charming to all those with whom they had been brought into contact. Amongst those whom they had visited the memory of their visit in connection with the President would form not the least agreeable of their recollections.

The resolution was carried amid vociferous applause.

MR. GAMBIER PARRY thanked them all for their great kindness.

The proceedings then terminated, and the company repaired to the "Plough" Hotel, were vehicles were awaiting to convey them to the different objects of interest in the neighbourhood.

Starting from Cheltenham a large party proceeded on an excursion to the Cotswold hills, passing, for a portion of the distance, over the Roman Ermine Street. The first halting place was at

WITCOMBE.

Leaving the carriages at the farm the party went to the site of the Roman Villa, in a field lying at the foot of Cooper's Hill and sloping to the East. On arrival at the spot, the Rev. W. BAZELEY, who, in the absence of JOHN BELLOWS, acted as *Cicerone*, called attention to the irregular and broken surface of the ground, where, in the year 1818, some labourers, in rooting up a tree, had struck upon a hewn stone, six feet in length. This was found to rest horizontally on two others of the same character, set upright. Sir William Hickes, of Witcombe Park, Bart., the proprietor of the land, determined to pursue the discovery. The three stones formed a doorway leading into a room 19ft. 7in. by 13ft. 7in., the walls of which were perfect to the height of six feet, and were covered with stucco. The floor was paved with large forest stones. In the centre was a cistern, which might still be seen, 20½ by 22½in., and 2ft. 1in. in depth. On the west side of the room, resting on plinths, were three buttresses, 1ft. 6in. square, carried to the top of the wall. Just within the doorway was a stone, 16½ by 14 inches, surrounded by a border of brick tiles. In a passage leading to this room, and close to the doorway, were found many coins of the lower empire, from Constantine the Great to Valentinian and Valens, showing the villa to have existed during the greater part of the fourth century. Mr. Samuel Lysons, who read a Paper before the Society of Antiquaries (*see Archæologia, vol.* XIX.), had thought this room to be a domestic temple. The cistern was used for sacred washings; the stone in the floor was the base of an altar, and the recesses were for statues of the Gods. The discovery of skulls and bones of such animals

as bullocks, goats, and sheep, and an iron sacrificial axe, gave fair grounds for such a conjecture. To the east of this temple were found rooms which had evidently formed part of a private bathing establishment. Three of these, with tesselated pavements and hypocausts, have been carefully preserved, and were inspected by the visitors. The mounds lying at some distance to the north contained sixteen or more rooms, some of them, apparently, cellars. These had, probably, formed the servants' wing of the villa, and consisted of stables, granaries, and sleeping apartments. On the west were found, connecting the south and north wings, a suite of rooms, which had, probably, been occupied by the head of the establishment and his family.

MR. BAZELEY referred his hearers to Mr. Lysons' paper for a more detailed account of the foundations and walls as they appeared when uncovered in 1818.

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Within a mile from the spot on which the party stood lay the Ermine St. which connected Glevum (Gloucester) with Corinium (Cirencester), and the country beyond to the south and east. Along the brow of the hill above there ran, probably, another Roman road, connecting Aquæ Sulis (Bath) Woodchester, and the camp on Painswick Hill, with the camp on Crickley Hill, and others to the north. Branching off from these main roads were numberless crossways and bridle paths. One crossway, called at the present time "Green Street," and still bearing traces of having been an eight feet paved way, led from Church-down, across Ermine Street, and up the shoulder of Cooper's Hill to Cooper's Hill Farm. The name "Green Street" was, without doubt, a traditionary translation of *via viridariensis*, or the road to the plantation. It had been stated that the beech tree was unknown in England before the arrival of the Romans, and that our beech woods were a legacy from them. Although this statement might seem to be refuted by the discovery of beechwood in early burying places, it was certain that wherever there were traces, such as here and at Woodchester, of Roman occupation and civilization, the beech-tree was generally found growing in abundance. The Saxons gave the name of "Buckholt" to such plantations. The field in which the party stood was called *Sandalls*. Lysons, in the Paper to which reference had been made, called it Sarendalls. This, John Bellows thought, might be derived from *Sarn*, or *Sarny*, the Celtic equivalent for "Stratum." It would, doubtless, occur to some of those present that a road leading from Abergavenny (the Roman Gobanium) across the Black Mountains was still called Sarn Helen. It was so named in honour of the wife of Constantine. Mr. BAZELEY went on to speak of the magnitude of the Roman posting system. Large establishments for breeding and rearing horses would be required in every district, which would be placed under the superintendence of an officer of high rank. He agreed with John Bellows and others in believing the buildings under notice to be the remains of such an establishment. The size and shape of the rooms in the north block of buildings, he thought, bore out this suggestion. The signal posts on Cooper's Hill, and at Birdlip, could be plainly seen from the raised terrace in front, and horses signalled for could be sent to Painswick by Green Street, and to Birdlip by the Saltway through the wood.

From Witcombe the party proceeded, some by carriages and others walking through the woods, to

BIRDLIP.

Here at the "Black Horse" Hotel, luncheon had been prepared in a large summer house overlooking the valley, which was heartily enjoyed by the excursionists, who appreciated, not less thoroughly, also, the beautiful view, in which the straight line of the Ermine Street, to the foot of the hill was a conspicuous object. After luncheon Mr. WITTS gave a brief description of some British remains he had discovered in the neighbourhood, and the Rev. Mr. BROWN gave a long dissertation on the Roman campaigns in the district, after which he conducted the party to the site of what he believed to have been a British village close by. It was, however, considered that Mr. BROWN was mistaken in his theory. The time occupied in this investigation rendered it necessary to abandon the intended visit to the Church and Castle of Brimsfield, which stood next on the programme, leaving the excursion thither to a future time, and the party, on resuming the carriages, passed on direct to

ELKSTONE CHURCH,

where an hour was pleasantly spent in looking over the old Norman Church. It was described in a paper by Mr. W. H. KNIGHT, but read by deputy in Mr. KNIGHT's unfortunate absence through illness.

"The church is dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. It is thus described by Rickman: "Elkstone Church is small, but has a very handsome late Perpendicular Tower, opening into the Nave. The edifice is very curious, having some fine Norman groining, and enriched arches, with a staircase leading to a chamber over it, which has no apparent opening to the Nave but a lancet window eastward. The walls of the Nave and the south doorway are Norman, and the cornice of the Nave is enriched with carved heads. Several later windows have been inserted in both Nave and Chancel, but the east window, a small one, is a remarkably fine specimen of Norman enrichment, both within and without. In the Church is a handsome Perpendicular font, also the steps of a good stone pulpit." The general arrangement is a Western Tower, a Nave, Chancel, and South Porch. Length inside 80 feet, and width 18 feet. The more interesting parts of the building are the south doorway and the arches and vaulting of the Chancel. The arches are very finely moulded, and the zigzag is used both on the face and soffit of the Chancel Arch. The peculiar features of the Chancel, referred to by Rickman, are the second arch dividing the Chancel into two compartments, and the groined vaults and the chamber over the Chancel. A careful examination will show that these peculiarities arise from the circumstance of there having been, at some time, a Tower over the first compartment (or presbytery) to which the staircase referred to gave access. The eastern compartment of the Chancel, or Sanctuary, was roofed in at the usual level, just above the vaulting. The evidences of these arrangements are, first, a small portion of old wall now remaining at the south-west angle of the said chamber, and, secondly, the small portion of the corbel-table in the wall on the north side of the Chancel. The corbel-table

shews the height of the chancel roof at the eaves. The inner, or Sanctuary, arch supported the eastern wall of the Tower above it, and the Chancel arch supported the western wall. A great disruption occurred in both these walls, owing, probably, to insufficient foundations and the effects of vaults having been made inside and out of the church. In Lysons' Antiquities of Gloucestershire the arches referred to are shewn much out of shape, but since that work was published, the late Incumbent, the Rev. Mr. Ness, had the arches and part of the piers taken down and carefully rebuilt; the stones having previously been carefully marked to secure their being reset in their former positions; but the outer walls are still very much out of perpendicular. Such settlements entailed the pulling down of the Tower walls and entirely doing away with the east wall of the Tower. When that wall was removed the roof over the whole of the chancel was necessarily obliged to be on one level, and for the sake of retaining the stairs the walls over the sanctuary were raised. Hence the formation of the present Chamber. This Chamber has given rise to many speculative ideas as to the purpose for which it was intended to be built, but the evidences appear conclusive that, with the exception of the Tower, there was no room over the chancel until the Tower had been taken down. It may be observed that when the walls over the Sanctuary were raised to carry the present roof, they were formed hollow—with openings on the inner face as for pigeons to breed in—thus clearly showing the room was not intended for ecclesiastical purposes. The next features of interest are the groin-ribs of the vaulting. In the first compartment of the Chancel the ribs are plain, with small chamfers on the edges and a slightly-cut floriated cross at the intersection. In the second compartment, or the Sanctuary, the ribs have a bold roll moulding on each side, and a remarkable carving at the intersection,—the subject being four faces in *bas relief*, the hair bound together by an interlacing band, and more like a pagan than a Christian emblem. A hole has been made in the centre of the band, apparently for the purpose of holding something in suspension (probably a lamp) in front of the Altar. For economical reasons it was usual at the time the early churches were erected to utilise materials from old buildings, and probably these ribs and other portions formed part of an earlier structure. The east window is richly moulded and decorated, and worth careful consideration. It deserves all the eulogy bestowed on it by Rickman. The south window of the Sanctuary is probably of 13th century date. The inner sill has a small piscina worked in it; and near it, in the splayed jamb, is a trefoil-headed niche, for receiving the small vessels of the Altar. The walls of the Nave are very early Norman, if not pre-Norman, work, as evidenced by the small rough stones, and the narrow doorway on the north side (now stopped up), the jambs and head of which indicate early work. The corbel-table under the eaves has carved corbels, illustrative of the chase, and other grotesques. The walls of the Chancel are late Norman work, apparently about the close of the 12th century. Most of the Nave windows have been inserted at a later period, probably near the close of the 14th century; and part of the old Norman moulded stones then used up in the walling are now to be seen on the south side. The South Doorway is a fine ex-

ample of Norman work, and of two orders,—the first having the zig-zag and pellet ornaments, and the second the beak-head. The Tympanum has a very remarkable carving, illustrating, Mr. Knight supposed, the mysterious subject embodied in the first six verses of the 6th Chapter of the Book of the Revelations[1] (see *Plate* I.)

There are indications of the Porch roof having been once much lower than at present, and it is probable that this doorway was originally at the west end and removed to its present position when the west wall was taken down and the present Tower built, probably about the latter part of the 14th century.

The Tower is in much the same state as it was then. It is well-proportioned, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubes high; on some of the buttresses are carved figures, and over the west doorway the remains of a good niche and figure, now much defaced. There are four bells in the Tower. MR. KNIGHT's paper concluded with some particulars as to the history of the Parish and Manor.

The present Vicar is the REV. H. T. PRICE (formerly at Cheltenham College), and he received the visitors very courteously, pointing out the features referred to in MR. KNIGHT's paper, and read to them some extracts from the old Parish registers. There was some discussion as to the probability of the existence of the Tower over the Presbytery, as to which opinions differed, and the enforced absence of MR. KNIGHT was the more regretted on this account.

The following additional remarks on this Church have been kindly contributed by MR. J. HENRY MIDDLETON:—

The original late Norman plan of this Church remains unaltered, except for the addition of the South Porch and the West Tower. The rich corbel-table which still runs round the Nave was also carried round the eaves of the Chancel, though at a lower level, as can still be seen from a fragment remaining on the north side of the Chancel. The very slightly projecting buttresses, or rather pilasters, are part of the original work. All those of much greater projection, with several offsets, have been added later, probably in the 14th century.

The South Porch is Early English in date; over the gable the apex stone of the tabling is raised in a curious way, forming a sort of box with open sides. This may, possibly, have been intended to hold the "Poor Soul's Light." Within the porch is the very rich original Norman doorway, the arch enriched with the chevron and beak-moulding.

1 We think Mr. KNIGHT mistaken. The Sculpture may be thus described: In the centre is the figure of Christ in Majesty seated on His Throne, holding in his left hand the Book of Judgement, and with the right hand and arm extended in the attitude of blessing. Right and left of Him are the Evangelistic Symbols; on the right the Angel of St. Matthew and the Bull of St. Luke: on the sinister side are the emblematic figures of the Eagle of St. John and the Lion of St. Mark. ABOVE, on the dexter, the side of blessing, is the typical figure of the Resurrection, viz.: the Lamb carrying the Standard of the Cross; on the left, BELOW, the place of cursing, is a large hideous face representin the Mouth of Hell, or the Head of Satan. This usual series of emblematic figures is completed by the hand of the Father, above all, in the centre, in the attitude of blessing.—ED.

Fig 2.

In the Tympanum is a *bas-relief* of Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the Evangelistic emblems ; above his head is a hand, the symbol of the first person of the Trinity. On the east jamb of this doorway there is one of the original Dedication Crosses; it is of a common Norman type, being only four cuts, with dots at the ends (see *fig.* 2.) Similar ones exist at Stanley St. Leonards ; at Brabourne, Kent ; and many other Norman churches. The later ones were generally drawn in a circle, and had expanded ends. Local examples of these are to be found at Cleeve and Leckhampton churches. The latter has been already referred to (see ante, p. 16, *fig.* 1.)

Nave.—There are at present no signs of the altars which must have stood one on each side of the Chancel arch.

Rudder, in his "Gloucestershire," gives an engraving of the then almost falling arches in the Chancel and Sanctuary. On the south side of the Chancel Arch he shows a bit of Decorated gabling, which, no doubt, was part of the niche for a statue above the Altar that stood here. A search behind the side pannelling of the Reading desk would perhaps discover a Piscina, or the remains of one.

The two windows on the north side of the Nave, and one on the south were probably inserted at the beginning of the 14th century ; they are early Decorated in style. The roof is a fine example of Perpendicular work of the best period ; it is probably contemporary with the western tower, which was built quite at the end of the 14th century. It has a collar with curved and cusped braces, coming down on to wall pieces, which, curiously enough, are not supported by corbels, but simply hang from the wall-plates. Between the principals there are curved struts to stiffen the purlins and ridge-piece ; the feet of the main braces are ornamented with shields bearing coats of arms, initials, and crosses. The Font is a remarkably graceful one. It is octagonal, and is late 14th century work. The Pulpit and Reading Desk are made up of rich Jacobean oak work, bearing the date 1604.

Chancel.—Both the Choir and Sanctuary Arches have been rebuilt in the present century, and this rebuilding has destroyed all marks of the Chancel Screen. Both arches are very richly ornamented on their western sides. The Choir and Sanctuary are both vaulted, each in one compartment. The Choir groin-ribs are plain ; the Sanctuary ribs have a bold roll-moulding on each side. The north Choir window is of original Norman work. The Southern one is an Early English insertion, or alteration, as is the corresponding one in the Sanctuary. The north Sanctuary window is a two-light Perpendicular one. In the carved boss at the intersection of the vaulting ribs in the Sanctuary there is a small hole, which doubtless served to suspend a lamp, which hung before the Sacrament, which would be suspended in a pix from a bracket, probably fixed in the Retable behind the Altar. The Piscina bowl is sunk in the sill of the south window, and in addition to the shelf room on this sill, a trefoil-headed credence[1] is recessed into the eastern jamb of the window.

1. The word "credence" is used for convenience sake, though in this special meaning it does not appear earlier than the 16th century.

The east window, both inside and out, is very richly decorated in late Norman style. Many of the details and ornaments are exactly the same as some around various archways at Iffley Church, near Oxford, the date of which is about 1180.

As we observed before, from indications outside on the north of the Chancel, the walls of the Chancel have been raised several feet all round, thus forming a room above the Norman vaulting. Access to this is given by a winding stair in the north-west angle of the choir. All this additional work is Early English in date. This room is lighted by a lancet window at the east, and the walls are pierced at intervals, all round, by pigeon holes. Various points seem to show that this was not a Chantry Chapel or a Priest's room. 1st. The extreme awkwardness of the access. 2nd. The absence of any flooring above the rough filling-in of the vaulting. 3rd. The end window is not arranged to hold glass, but had wooden doors, the marks of the hinges of which are still visible. 4th. The roughness of the walls, and the fact that the pigeon-holes seem undoubtedly original. Some of the holes on the north side are made by piercing a stone, and not by simply omitting one. 5th. No signs of any altar, piscina, or aumbry.

The existence of a Columbarium over a Chancel is certainly curious, but this is not the only instance of such a thing. The Church of St. Peter, at Marlborough has an exactly similar room over the chancel, which, like this, is groined with a stone vault. It has a single-light end window, and there has been no floor over the extrados of the vaulting. There is an external winding stair at the north-east angle. Holes for pigeons are contrived in the end wall, and pigeons were kept in this room till nearly the middle of this century. From time immemorial they were the property of the Incumbent.

Another instance of a Columbarium over the vaulting of a Chapel existed at the Church of St. Nicholas, at Yarmouth. The following extract is from an interesting Paper read by A. W. Morant, F.S.A. before the Norfolk Archæological Society:—"Accounts of Brother Dionysius Hyndolvestan, Keeper of the Cell at Great Yarmouth—2nd Richard III. to 1st Henry VII."—(1484-5). "Perquisita. De Capellâ b'te Marie de Arnburth ... .. de Colu'bari' sup' voltā ejusdē capelle c'cit' iii.^{xii} pipiones expens' in familiâ."

Trans.—"Perquisites. From the chapel of the blessed Mary of Arnburth.....from the pigeon-house above the vaulting of the said chapel, about three dozen pigeons used in the house-hold."

There is an instance of a Columbarium in a Church Tower at Collingham Ducis, Wilts. "The tower of this Church is oblong on plan. It seems to have been originally constructed so that its middle stage might be used as a dovecot. A window, or rather opening, with a sill on which the birds might alight, is still preserved." (Ecclesiologist xvii., 233.)

Overbury Church, Worcester (Early English) "Some twenty years ago the space above the vaulting of the Chancel was used as a pigeon-house."—Ecclesiologist, Oct. 1865, vol. xxvi.. p. 313.

The following are instances of rooms over the vaulting of a Chancel, or Lady Chapel, in which Chantry altars were placed :—

At *Compton Church*, near Guildford, there is a room over the Sanctuary with an arch opening westwards into the church. The lower part of the arch is closed by a 12th century wooden screen, which has an arcade of semi-circular arches, cut out of thick boards.

At Christ Church, Hants, there is a Chantry Chapel over the Lady Chapel at the east end of the church, behind the great reredos. There is a wooden boarding above the Reredos to fill up the west end of this upper room.

Again, a Chantry Chapel is recorded to have existed at Ripon, above the vaulting over the high altar. "In 1345, William de Plumpton gave to God—ac Altari in honorem S. Trinitatis supra summum Altare in Ecclesiâ Coll. Ripon constructo—one messuage, &c., to found a perpetual chantry."

The Western Tower is an addition in the best period of the Perpendicular style, at the end of the 14th century. There is a fine large western window with a canopied niche and figure set outside on the sill. The statue is much mutilated. There are also curious carved figures on some of the buttress slopes. Inside, the tower is vaulted with rich lierne groining. There are carved angels at the heads of the wall ribs. The tower opens into the church with a large segmental arch.

From Elkstone the party was driven to

COWLEY.

The Manor of Cowley anciently belonged to the Abbey of Pershore, in Worcestershire, and, falling into the hands of King Henry VIII., upon the dissolution of that house, it was granted by him to the Church of Westminster as parcel of the endowment of an Episcopal See which he constituted there. This See, however, existed only a few years, in 1550, the Bishop was translated to Norwich, and a portion of the estates was granted to the See of London, which gave rise to the proverb of robbing Peter to pay Paul; Westminster was, however, retained as a Collegiate Church, with a portion of its revenues, among which was this manor, which was confirmed to it in 2nd Elizabeth. In 1608, Atkyns says, the manor was held by the Lady Chandos, from whom it passed to Henry Brett, who built the present Manor House and died in 1674.

Mr. Richardson-Gardner, who now occupies the Manor House, was from home, but the grounds were thrown open to the party, and the Cascades of ornamental water set in motion.

The following description of the Church was given by Mr. J. Henry Middleton :—

This Church is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. It is a simple rectangular building, without Aisles, Transepts, or structural Chancel. It has recently been much "restored." It is all Early-English in date, with plain lancet windows, except the Western Tower, and the South Porch, which are Perpendicular additions. The Church was divided into Nave and Chancel of nearly equal size by a rood-screen, surmounted by a loft, the stairs to which still exist on the north side, though now blocked up.

Against this Screen, on each side of the central doorway, there was probably an Altar. The existence of the southern one is proved by the curious little Piscina in the south wall with a triangular-headed opening *(fig.* 3). There are no signs remaining of the north Nave-Altar, but, as a rule, the smallest English Church had at least three Altars.

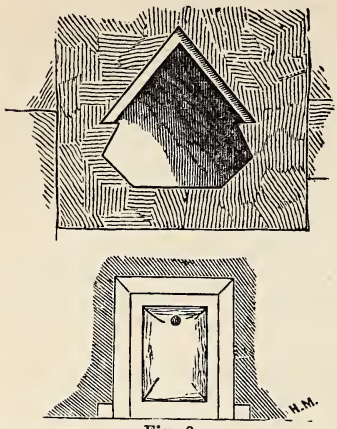


Fig. 3.

The Pulpit, which now stands on the site of the southern Altar, is a curious one of rude Perpendicular work. The window by it is a recent insertion.

The Font, which is bowl-shaped is certainly earlier than any part of the present edifice, and is probably a relic from a still earlier church. The octagonal base is modern.

Chancel.—Passing on to the Chancel, or part east of the Rood-screen, we find on the south side a fine and unusually large Piscina. It is trefoil-headed, enriched with a bold bead-moulding, and the basin is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. There is ample shelf-room on each side of the basin for placing the altar cruets, &c. The East window is very small and is only a single lancet, like the rest of the windows.

On the north side is a Tomb of early Decorated work, of the date of the beginning of the 14th century. Under a low ogee arch, recessed into the wall, is a recumbent effigy of a Priest in eucharistic vestments. He is clad in chasuble, amice, alb, stole, and maniple. His folded hands are broken, but do not seem ever to have held a chalice, as was often the case with priestly effigies. Immediately over the Tomb is a corbel with a hole cut in it, probably for fixing a lamp or pricket for candles.

The old tie-beam roof still remains over the Nave, the rest is modern.

The original Early-English corbel-table still runs all round the church. The eastern part of the walling is of dressed ashlar, while the rest is rather rough. This does not, necessarily, indicate that it is an addition, as the more careful work may have been intended to make a distinction between the Sanctuary and the rest of the church. In any case it can be but very few years later than the Nave.

The Tower and South Porch are Perpendicular additions, not later than 1400. Over the Porch doorway there is a niche, probably for a statue of the Patron Saint. The Tower has lost its pinacles, but is otherwise in good preservation.

A short drive from Cowley brought the excursionists to Cubberly, a place of no small interest, as being, for a considerable period, one of the seats of ancient Saxon family of Berkeley. Roger de Berkeley held Coberlie

at the time of the Domesday Survey.[1] Blunt, who gives an interesting sketch of the family, says he was a cousin (of what degree is not upon record) of King Edward the Confessor. From this Roger, according to Atkyns,[2] Cubberley descended to Sir Thomas Berkeley, who held it in 8th Edw. III. His son, of the same name, died seized of the manor, 6th Henry IV., leaving, by Margaret his wife, sister and heir of Sir John Chandos, of the elder branch of that illustrious house, two daughters and co-heirs. Alice, the elder, married Sir Thomas Brydges (or Bruges), who, thereupon, seated himself at Cubberly, and was the progenitor of the Brydgeses, Barons Chandos of Sudeley, and Dukes of Chandos. Margaret, the younger co-heir married Nicholas Mattesden.[3] For the following interesting description of the Church we are indebted to MR. J. HENRY MIDDLETON.

COBERLEY (or CUBBERLEY) CHURCH.

This Church, which is dedicated to St. Giles, has been almost entirely re-built within the last few years, and is so much altered from its original state that it will perhaps be better to describe it, not as it is now, but as it existed up to about the year 1868.

It consisted of a Nave, Chancel, South Chapel, West Tower, and South Porch. The whole of the Church, except the Tower and the Porch, which were Perpendicular additions, was Decorated in style of about the middle of the 14th century.

The Nave had two Decorated two-light windows on the North, and a Perpendicular window inserted on the South: to the West, in the North wall, was a blocked-up doorway; this and the Decorated windows have been destroyed, and their places filled by three new windows of Perpendicular style. At the West of the Nave a large Perpendicular Arch opened into the Tower.

There was no Chancel Arch to separate the Chancel from the Nave; the only division was the Rood screen, of which marks remained on the wall. The Chancel was lighted by an Eastern Perpendicular window; and one in the North wall, together with one original Decorated window, also on the North.

Within the Altar-rails, North and South of the High Altar, were two well-sculptured recumbent Effigies, large life size, with their feet touching the East wall: these are now removed to the South Chapel. The effigy on the North represented a Knight in plate armour, with long surcoat over it. gathered in at the waist by a narrow belt, the strap-fastenings of the armour have ornamental *trefoil* ends; the gambeson, which appears through the cleft of the surcoat, has a vandycked border: the sword belt is enriched with jewelled bosses: there is a hanging fringe round the genouillières. The Shield on the left side is slung across the breast by a narrow guige. The Knight wears gauntlets, his hands are clasped, and his legs crossed, right over left. At his head are two angels, holding the pillow, and at his

1 Dursley and its neighbourhood, p. 4.

2 History of Gloucestershire, pp. 196, 197.

3 Banks' Baronage III., 162; see also Dent's History of Sudeley, p. 208; and Bazeley's Records of Matson, Transactions II., 248.

feet a lion couchant. The effigy on the South side was that of a lady, in gown, with long sleeves, wimple and hood : her hands clasped, and at her feet some animal, too much broken to be distinguishable. These effigies probably represent Thomas de Berkeley and his wife, and were, perhaps, placed by the High Altar instead of in the Chantry Chapel, on account of Thomas Berkeley being a benefactor to the Church generally. There is also a smaller recumbent effigy, apparently of the same date, representing a young girl in hood and gown, with buckled belt round the waist : at her feet a lion : her right hand laid on her breast, the left holding a pair of gloves.

Built into the North wall of the Chancel there was a curious Heart Monument, consisting of a Vesica-shaped *Bas-relief*, representing the half figure of a Knight in chain mail, holding with both hands a heart in front of a heater-shaped shield. This relief was set in a sort of frame, formed of a trefoiled arch on little shafts under a plain gablet, the whole rude in workmanship, and apparently of the beginning of the 13th century in date. There is also another interesting bit of sculpture, in relief, representing the Crucifixion, with St. Mary and St. John at the sides, in a panel with cusping round it. It is well executed and seems to have been part of a Stone Retable of 14th century work.

South Chapel.—This Chapel was built and dedicated to the B.V. Mary by Thomas de Berkeley, about the year 1340, and it seems probable that the whole of the Church was re-built at the same time. There was a Chantry endowed for this Chapel by Thomas Berkeley who gave certain lands to find a Priest for ever to say masses for him, his ancestors, and all christian souls. The value of this endowment at the time of the suppression of Chantries was £8 13s. 4d., of which the Priest's stipend was £7 15s. 10d. The last holder of the Benefice was named Sir William Williams, and he had no other preferment.[1]

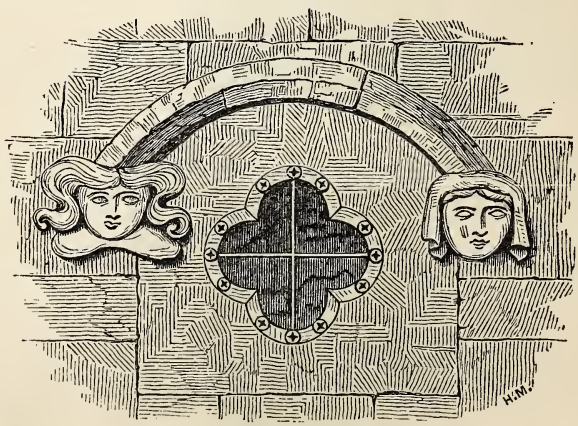


Fig. 4.

1 Chantry Certificate, 37th Henry VIII., No. 34. Augumentation Records. The later Certificate of 2nd Edw VI. differs a little from this. It states that the Chantry was called the Gardynage, or Wardynage, of Coberly ; that it was founded by one Thomas

This Chapel communicated with the Church by two arches, so placed that one opened into the Nave, and the other into the Chancel; the South end of the Chancel Screen stopping against the central pier. The East window of this chapel was Decorated, as were also two windows on the South side: West of these were a Priest's door, and a three-light window, both Perpendicular. Between the two Decorated windows, was a low side window of the same date (see *fig.* 4). That this was not for lepers, or anyone else to join at Mass, is, I think, made clear by the fact that it is so constructed and placed that through it, from the outside, it would be impossible to see the Celebrant either at the Chantry Altar or the High Altar. Internally, the opening of this little window is square, and rebated for a shutter. East of this is a low arched tomb-recess, ornamented with cusps and sub-cusps: in it is a life-sized recumbent effigy of a youth, clad in robe and mantle with long pointed sleeves; his hands clasped, and at his feet a hound. The hair is arranged in long wavy curls like the heads on the groats of Edw. III., &c. This probably represents a member of the Berkeley family: it appears late 14th century work in style and costume.

Further East is a small trefoil-headed Piscina, with an eight-lobed basin.

On the South wall is the Matrix of a 16th century Brass of the Brydges' family, and on the West wall of this Chapel is a fine marble monument, with delicate classical details, to some members of the Castleman family from 1677 to 1712.

Scratched on the jamb of the S.E. window outside is an early semi-circular Sun-dial, the canonical hours marked by dots.

The South Porch is Perpendicular in style, and seems to occupy the place of an earlier one, of which a corbel and weathering for the roof still remain. The door into the church has a low four-centred Arch with rich cusping coming in front of the Arch-mould. Over this doorway is a carved head of a Seraph with spreading wings: the upper part broken. The West side of the Porch has three large quatrefoil windows, side by side: the outer doorway is plain.

The Western Tower is of simple Perpendicular design, with battlements and large West window, but no external door. A winding staircase projects at the S.E. corner, and is square outside. The whole seems to belong to the middle of the 15th century.

In the Churchyard, at the S.W., is the base and stump of a tall cross, rude and early in style, and on the North there is a 14th century gabled tomb-stone with a long cross scultured on it.

Barkeley, gent., who gave certeyn lands to the tent to mainteigne and fynde therwith a Priest to celebrate and pray for his sowle, his ancestres' sowles, and all xpen sowles for ever; that Sir William Williams was Incumbent there, of thage of sixty yeres, having no other lyving then in the seid service, which ys yerely vj li xiijs. iiijd.; the land and tenements belonging to the same are of the yerely value of viij li xijs., whereof in Reprises yerely xvd., and so remayneth clere by the yere viij li xs. ix. The ornaments thereunto belonging valued at viijs. Plate and Juells noone. It further states that the houseling people in the parish were 69.

If the number of Houseling people, at this date, were 69, the population would be about 103. In 1801 it was 161.—ED.

Many fragments of Early Norman, and even Saxon, work have been found—no doubt belonging to the earlier church, of which nothing else now remains.

The Churchyard is partly bounded on the East and South by a high ashlar wall with two doorways of good classical design and very correct details, probably Elizabethan in date. This formed part of the second court of a large manor house, the property of the Castleman family. This house, surrounded by extensive grounds, was in existence when Atkyns wrote, but nothing now remains of it except this bit of wall.

This was the last place in the programme to be visited, but the majority of the party made a passing visit to the Seven Springs, the head of the river Thames, on their way home, and reached the "Plough" Hotel between six and seven o'clock, after a very pleasant day.

So ended the meeting. We are pleased to know that it was throughout thoroughly enjoyed, and we heard frequent exclamations that it was the pleasantest and best managed gathering the Society had yet held.

THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM.

Among the Articles exhibited in the Temporary Museum were the following:—

By Mr. H. D. Martin—

A Persian Ware Jug, with spiral blue lines and green band on white ground, mounted with chased and engraved silver foot, band, rim, and lid, given by Henry VII. to Sir W. Sammell. From the Vernon collection. [The date mark on the silver mounts is for the year 1586-7, showing it to have been remounted at that time.]

A very fine Battersea Casket, with three cannisters enamelled Rose du Barri color, with compartments painted in classical and pastoral subjects. From the Hooton Hall collection.

Two early Italian Chalices, 16th century, one richly embossed with the Evangelistic symbols, cherubs, &c., the other enamelled with Scripture subjects.

24 Silver Apostle Spoons, from Oliver Cromwell to George II.

An Elizabethan Stone Ware Jug, with engraved silver mounts, 1576.

Fine Wedgewood Vase, 12 inches high, with masks and festoons on pale blue ground.

A China Biscuit Group, in Crown Derby—"The Blind Harper," his daughter leaning on his shoulder, and son at his side playing the flageolet—beautifully modelled.

A Handsome Sugar Dredger of the period of Charles II.

A Sugar Basin—Rams's head and festoons, George II.

A 12-inch Lucca de la Rubbia Ware dish, finely painted in brilliant colors, with a naval engagement, time of Julius Cæsar.

A very fine 16th century Reliquary, enclosing the arm bone of a saint, richly enamelled with rubies and diamonds, the property of Mrs. Gordon Canning, of Hartpury.

A Limoges Enamel Casket, 16th century, given by Francis I. to Cardinal Wolsey, and by the latter to Henry VIII. who gave it Anne Boleyn, by her it was presented to Lady Worcester, from whose daughter it descended to the present owner, Mrs. Gordon Canning.

A Carved Sheep's Head, in black jasper, date B.C. 300.

An Egyptian Scarabæus, date B.C. 1870.

A small Silver Paten, date 1454.

By MR. JOHN MIDDLETON (of Westholm)—

Silver Chalice and Paten—This was one of the numerous cups made in Elizabeth's reign, in consequence of an order issuing from Archbishops Parker and Grindel in 1562. This was an order to alter all "Chalices" into "Communion Cups," it never received the Royal assent, and so was illegal. This Cup bears the Exeter mark—a crowned X, and the name IONS (John Johns). The name of this Goldsmith occurs in the Parish accounts of St. Petroc, Exeter, in 1571 : viz., "Paid Iohn Ions, Goldsmith, for changing the chalice into a cup, £1 15s. 5d. See Maclean's "History of Trigg Minor," vol. III., p. 291.

Old English Illuminated Books and Manuscripts.

Fac-similies of Greek, Roman, and Early-English Coins.

Rare Medals.

A handsome and elaborately-carved Oak Elizabethan Casket.

Rare specimens of early Persian, pierced and gilt, metal work, &c.

COLONEL SMYTHE sent from his collection at Vittoria House, choice examples of Ancient Egyptian Jewellery and Bronzes.

Old Amber Model of Buddha.

Old Indian Manuscript, "the Laws of Manoo"—on palm leaf.

Pre-historic Flint Implements, &c.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN—

Two impressions of the Ancient Seal of the Hospital of St. Mark, of Billeswick, Bristol. (Since illustrated in the Society's Transactions, Vol. III., p. 251.

By MR. ERNEST HARTLAND, of the Oaklands—

A choice, well-selected, and instructive assemblage of Art Objects and Personal Ornaments illustrative of early Egyptian and Assyrian Life, and other early historic periods.

By ALDERMAN W. N. SKILLICORNE—

A number of interesting Drawings and Engravings of Cheltenham as it was 50 years ago, and

A rare and well executed Drawing of Cheltenham as it was 100 years ago.

By MISS STOKES—

A rare and valuable collection of Black-Letter Bibles and other works, from 1488 to 1702, also,

An exquisitely painted early Picture of Cheltenham, with the river Chelt running down the High Street.

By MR. H. P. MOORE—

Many rare and choice Objects in silver, ivory, bronze, and enamel, of special local interest.

English Chalice and Paten, date 1550.

Curious old English Needlework.

Old and curiously wrought and pierced Keys, of the 15th and 16th centuries, &c.

GENERAL MACKENZIE—

Nine very fine old *Bas-reliefs*, discovered by him in a subterranean Temple while engaged on an official survey in Burmah, being burnt brick mythological subjects, glazed and colored; also Armlets, Ear-rings, Anklets, Bells, and other objects of personal adornment, as worn by the Burmese.

By MR. H. M. JEFFREY, M.A. (Head Master of the Cheltenham Grammar School)—

A copy, by Mr. Brough, of the portrait of Richard Pates, founder of the Cheltenham Grammar School, dated 1578.

By MR. JOHN RAINEY—

Miniatures, Gold Coins of Nero and others.

Carvings.

Embroidery.

A very fine Pallisy Dish.

Roman Pottery, &c.

MRS. CLAYTON DAUBENEY, MR. JESSOP, MR. MITCHELL, MR. POWELL, and MRS. CATHCART—

Sent various rare objects of local interest.

List of Books belonging to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society :—

Antiquaries, Proceedings of Society of, (2nd series). Vols. I. to VII., 1859 to 1879.
(Presented by the Council of the Society.)

Archæological Journal, Vols. I. to XXXIII., with Index to Vols. I. to XXV.
(Presented by the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.)

Archæological Journal, Vols. XXXIV. to XXXVI.
(In exchange for the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society)

Booterstown and Donnybrook, Sketches of, by Rev. B. H. Blacker. Parts 3 and 4. Dublin, 1872, 1874, 12mo.

British Archæological Association, Journal of. Vol. 35; parts 1-4.
(In Exchange.)

Bristol, Bath, & South Wales Archæological Magazine. Parts 2 & 3. (2 sets). *(Presented by Mr. Kerslake.)* London, 1843

British Barrows, by Rev. W. Greenwell, M.A., and G. Rolleston, M.D. Oxford, 1877 8vo.
(Presented by Professor Rolleston.)

Charlton Kings' Church, Monumental Inscriptions in, by Rev. B. H. Blacker. London, 1877, 4to.
(Presented by the Author.)

Gloucestershire, Ancient Camps of, by G. F. Playne, Esq., F.G.S.
(Presented by the Author.)

Gloucestershire Notes and Queries. Parts 1, 2 and 3.
(Presented by Rev. B. H. Blacker.)

Helland, History of Parish of, by Sir John Maclean, F.S.A. (privately printed). 1873, 4to.
(Presented by the Author.)

Ireland, Journal of Royal Archæological and Historical Association of, 4th series. (Vols. I to V. *Presented by the Association.)*

Leigh, Co. Lancaster, The Grammar School of, by John E. Bailey, F.S.A., (Pamphlet).
(Presented by Sir John Maclean.)

Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, Roman Antiquities at, by Rev. W. H. Bathurst. London, 1879, Imp. 8vo.
(Presented by the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Society.)

Minchinhampton, Extracts from accounts of Churchwardens of, Edited by John Bruce, F.S.A. London, 1854, sm. 4to.
(Presented by Miss Stokes.)

Ordnance Map of Gloucestershire.

Parker Society—The Zurich Letters (2nd series, Part I.) Cambridge, 1846, 8vo.
(Presented by Miss Stokes.)

St. Minefreda, alias St. Minver, History of Parish of, by Sir John Maclean, F.S.A. (privately printed). 1876, 4to.
(Presented by the Author.)

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Journal, Vol. IV. New series. *(In Exchange.)* Taunton, 1879.

Stonehenge and its Barrows, by William Long, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. *(Presented by the Author.)* Devizes, 1876, Imp. 8vo.

St. Briavel's Castle, drawing of.
(Presented by C. J. Thomas, Esq.)

Tintagel and Trevalga, History of the Parishes of, by Sir John Maclean, F.S.A. (privately printed). 1877, 4to.
(Presented by the Author.)

Various Engravings.
(Presented by C. J. Thomas, Esq., and others.)

Warrington, An attempt to identify Arms in the Parish Church and Austin Friary, by W. Beamont & J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.
(Presented by Sir John Maclean.)

Wixford Church, Warwickshire. By Rev. T. P. Wadley.
(Presented by the Author.)

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine. Nos. 50-54 1877-8
(In Exchange.)

Manuscripts:

Court Roll of the View of Frank-pledge of the Seven-Hundred Division of Gloucestershire, viz. :—

Cirencester, Crowthorne, Rapsgate, Brightwell's.

Barrow, Longtree, and Whitston, 7 Elizab.

Do. do. do. 11 Elizab.

Pipe Roll of Charge and Discharge of Paul Tracy, Esq., Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 28 Elizab.

BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 22ND, 1879. **Cr.**

	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last year	43	13	4
,, Life Subscriptions	409	10	0
,, 1 Life Subscription	5	5	0
,, 360 Annual Subscriptions	189	0	0
,, 11 Entrance Fees	5	15	6
,, 10 Annual Subscriptions, in arrear, 1876-7	5	5	0
,, 27 ,, ,, ,, 1877-8 ...	14	3	6
,, 8 Entrance Fees, in arrear	4	4	0
,, 2 Donations	4	4	0
,, Interest on Deposits	5	9	1
,, Sale of Transactions	1	9	0
,, Balance due to Treasurer	8	12	8
	£696	11	1

	£	s.	d.
By Expenses of Congress at Bristol, July and August, 1878	42	15	2
,, Expenses of Winter Meeting, at Gloucester, January, 1879	6	6	0
,, Printing Transactions for the Year ...	185	17	0
,, Miscellaneous Printing, Postage, and Stationary...	27	4	3
,, Advertising	0	6	6
,, Clerical Assistance	9	4	7
,, Petty Disbursements	10	2	7
,, Life Subscriptions, invested in Consols ...	414	15	0
	£696	11	1

27th Nov., 1879.

Audited and found correct—JOHN MACLEAN. WM. LUCY. } *Auditors.*

NOTES ON THE MANOR AND PARISH CHURCH OF CHELTENHAM.

By J. HENRY MIDDLETON, F.S.A.

(Fellow of the Archæological Societies of Athens and Rome.)

Read at Cheltenham, 8th July, 1879.

The Manor of Cheltenham was Royal Demesne. It is thus described in the Domesday Survey—"Terra Regis." "Rex Edwardus tenuit Chintenham[1]—ibi erant viij. hide et dim., ad eccl'am p'tin. 1 hid. et dim. Reinbaldus ten. eam. In d'nio erant iij. car. & xx. vill' & x. bord' & vii. servi, cum xviij. car. Pr'b'ri ij. car. Ibi ij. molini de xi. sol. & viij. denar. Huic M' accrevit p'positus Regis W.duos bord' & iv. vill'os & iij. molinos hor,' ij. sunt Regis, t'cius prepositi & j. car. plus e' ibi T.R.E. redd'b' ix. lib' & v. sol' & ter. mille panes canibus. Modo redd' xx. lib. & xx. vaccas & xx. porc' & xvi. sol. pro panibus."

Translation :

"King Edward (the confessor) held Cheltenham. There were 8½ hides. One hide and-a-half belongs to the church. Reinbald holds it. In the demesne there were three plough-lands, and 20 villeins, and 10 bordars, and 7 serfs, with 18 plough-lands. The Priest has two plough-lands. There are two corn mills of 11 shillings and 8 pence. To this manor King William's steward added two Bordars, and four villeins, and three corn mills—of these two are the King's, the third is the steward's, and there is one plough-land more there. In the time of King Edward, it paid £9 5s., and 3000 loaves for the hounds. Now it pays £20 and 20 cows, and 20 hogs, and 16 shillings instead of the loaves."

In his "Notitia Monastica," p. 142, Tanner mentions that at a Synod held at Cloveshoe, in A.D. 803, the question of a certain

[1] Spelt Ciltenham in another place.

payment, said to be due from the Priory of Cheltenham to the Bishop of Worcester, was settled. Cheltenham was then, and till the reign of Henry VIII., in the diocese of Worcester. The passage Tanner refers to is this—"Denebert, Bishop of Worcester, claimed from it (the Priory of Cheltenham) and Beckford, as their diocesan, a certain feast, or annual payment, which the Bishop of Hereford (who in former times possessed the monastery) refused to grant. It was, however, arranged that the Bishop of Worcester should receive the feast from the Monasteries of Cheltenham and Beckford alternately." Another Synod, held at Gloucester in 1086, mentions the priory in its list of rentals, and also "a church with its chapels at Chintenham." They are mentioned separately in a way to imply that the church was independent of the collegiate foundation, and this is borne witness to by the plan and arrangement of the church which seem to be purely parochial. The monks were under the rule of St. Benedict, as were also those of the neighbouring Abbeys of Winchcombe and Gloucester. One of the monks of this priory, Richard de Cheltenham, in the reign of Edward IV., was promoted to be Abbot of Tewkesbury, which office he held from 1481 to 1509.[1]

Church of the B. V. Mary.—That there was a church here in very early times is shown by the mention in Domesday Book of Priests, who were supported by an endowment of land. The Reinbald mentioned was Dean of the Collegiate Church of Cirencester.[2]

Henry I. gave a mill and some land, worth £24 a year, to the endowment, and in 1133 he granted the rectory to the Abbey of Cirencester. It was afterwards further enriched by large gifts of lands from various nobles. Besides two well endowed chantries in the church itself, it had chapelries at Arle, Hatherly, and Charlton Kings, the latter of which still exists, but is now converted into a parish church. Like the mother-church at Cheltenham it is dedicated to the B.V. Mary, and was not only originally similar in plan, but it has gone through the same changes, in the

[1] See also Spelman's Councils, I., 326., and Wilkins' Concilia, I., 168.
[2] See Goding's History of Cheltenham.

addition of wide aisles which project north and south as far as the ends of the Transepts.

In 1415 the Rectory came into the possession of the Nunnery of Sion, near Isleworth, and continued to be so, until it was seized by Henry VIII.[1] From that time till within the last few years the incumbent has only been a curate, and for most of the time not even a perpetual curate. After the Reformation the tithes were let on lease and farmed by various persons.

[1] The Manors of Cheltenham, Salmondsbury, and Slaughter, with their appurtenances, and the Hundreds of Cheltenham, Salmondsbury, and Slaughter, in the County of Gloucester, were parcel of the possessions of the Alien Priory of Fischamp, and upon the dissolution of the alien Priories, in 2nd Henry V., they were granted, by parliament, to the King. The King laid the foundation stone of the Monastery of Syon, on 22nd Feb., 1415, and by charter, dated 20th April, 1416, he granted to the Bishop of Durham and others in trust for the Monastery, *inter alia*, all the possessions in England of the aforesaid Priory (Rot. Pat., 4th Henry V., m. 22). This grant was confirmed by Patent of King Henry VI., 12th Nov. 1443, in which the manors of Cheltenham, Salmondsbury, and Slaughter, and the Hundreds of these names are specifically mentioned, but no allusion is made to the advowsons of the churches of those parishes (Rot. Pat., 22nd Henry VI., p. 1, m 21.)

In 1592 a Survey was taken of all the possessions of the Monastery of Syon, when the Manors of Cheltenham and Slaughter in the County of Gloucester, were valued at £111 6s. 8d., (Aunger's History of Syon, p. 76).

In the Valor Ecclesiasticus, 26th Henry VIII., 1534, the value is thus stated :—

Gloucester.—The rents of assize with other rents and farms in divers villages, hamlets, and parishes there are worth as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
In Cheltenham	79	1	8
Rents of assize, with other rents in Slaughter	31	19	9½
Farm of the Manor there	6	13	4
Rents of assize and other rents at Minchinhampton	47	0	5½
Farm of the Manors of Hampton and Lesemere	19	0	0
Farm of meadows and pastures	10	10	0
Farm of the Manor of Pymbery	6	0	0
Rents of assize, with the farm of the site of the Manor of Avening	29	2	4½
Rents of lands and tenements lately of the Lady Alicia Hampton	9	4	5
In all	£238	12	0½

The following extract is from a letter from J. Stubbes, in 1633, on the State and Maintenance of the Cures of Cheltenham and Charlton Kings:—

"Rectoria de Cheltenham cū capellâ de Charlton R'g' eidem annexat. com^{s}. Glouc'r.

40th Eliz. (1597) 21st Feb., the premises were granted to Francis Bacon, Esq., (afterwards Lord Verulam) for £40, subject

The wood there, being within the lordship of Minchinhampton and Avening, with its members, as appears by the said declaration, is worth	16	13	4
The issues arising from the perquisites of the courts there are worth as follows:—			
In Cheltenham	6	14	3
Slaughter	2	13	2
Minchinhampton and Avening, with its members	5	18	8
In all, as appears by the said declaration	£15	6	1

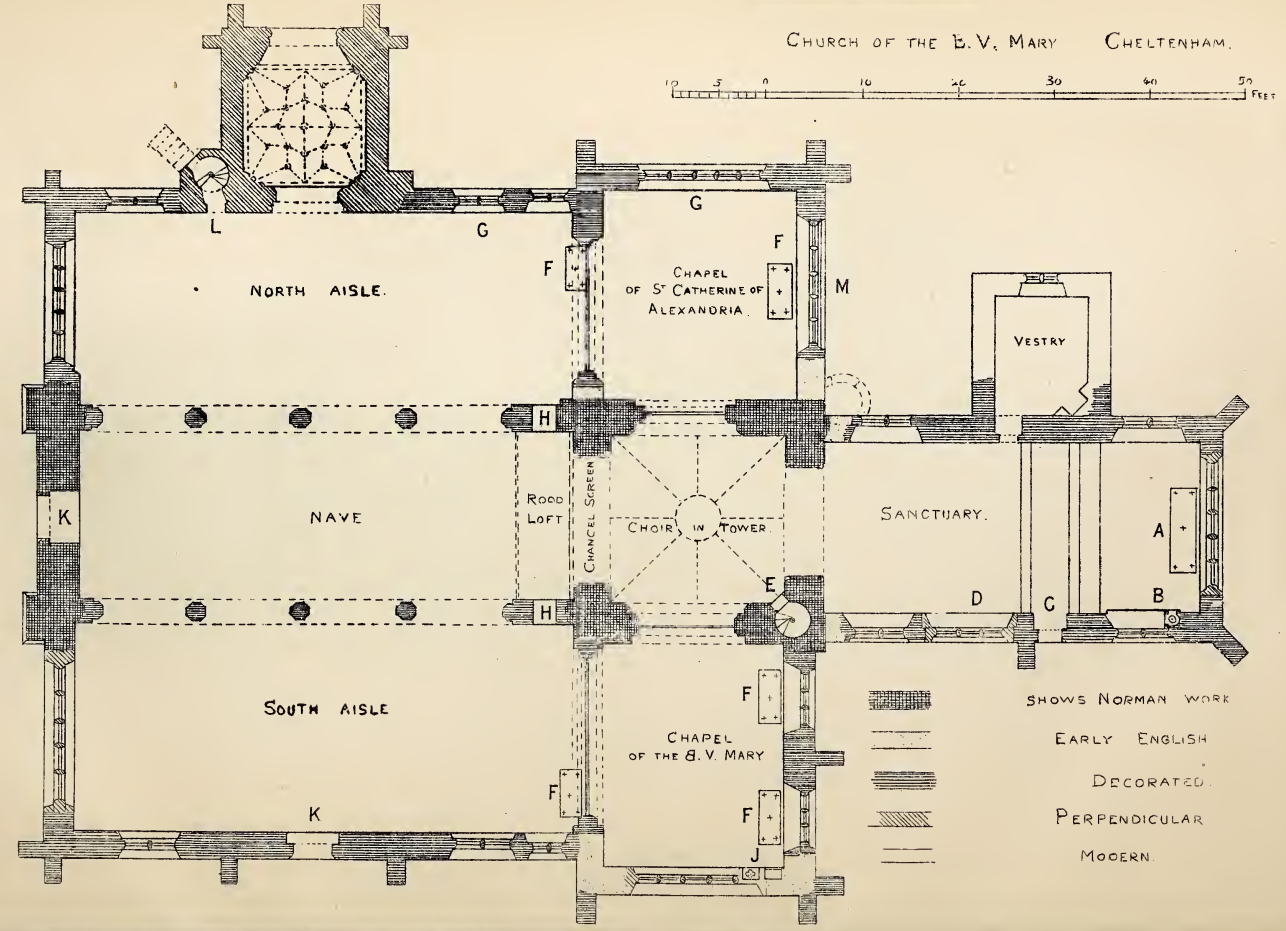
Fees annually paid, to wit:—

To Thomas Matson and Edward Tame, Chief Stewards of Cheltenham	3	6	8
To John Straunge, Steward of the Courts there	1	6	8
To Andrew Greenehill, bailiff there, one livery	2	13	4
To the same Thomas Matson and Edward Tame, Stewards of Slaughter	1	0	0
To Thomas Haile, one livery	2	0	0
To William Kingston, Chief Steward of Minchinhampton	2	0	0
To William Compton, Steward of the Courts there	1	6	8
To Edward Tame, Steward of the Abbey of Cirencester, for view of frank-pledge, to be annually held in the lordship	0	6	8
To Giles Kyn, Bailiff, and receiver of money arising from the sale of wood	4	0	0
To the same Giles, Bailiff of Avening	0	13	4
In all, as appears in the said declaration	£11	13	4

Money paid in alms, distributed weekly to three poor persons in a certain almshouse, to wit:—

To each of them, 7d. per week, from the foundation of the Lady Alicia Hampton, together with 3s. 9d. for delivery and carriage of eight loads of wood, annually, for the same poor persons, as appears by the said declaration thereof mentioned	4	14	9

For further information see Aunger's Hist. of Syon and Isleworth.—ED.


CHURCH OF THE B. V. MARY CHELTENHAM.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET
NORTH AISLE.
CHAPEL OF ST CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA.
VESTRY
NAVE
ROOD LOFT
CHANCEL SCREEN
CHOIR IN TOWER
SANCTUARY.
SOUTH AISLE
CHAPEL OF THE B. V. MARY
SHOWS NORMAN WORK
EARLY ENGLISH
DECORATED
PERPENDICULAR
MODERN.

to the rent of £75 13s. 4d., under these exceptions and covenants, except the advowson of the church and chapel. "The Lessee to find two fit and discreet Chaplains and two Deacons to celebrate divine service, and also to find bread and wine for the Sacrament, and ropes and bells."

After the death of Lord Verulam the impropriation came into the hands of Sir Baptist Hicks, who granted the presentation to Jesus College, Oxford, under the restriction that they should always nominate a Fellow of that College, and M.A. of two years standing, who was to hold no other benefice, and to be and remain unmarried. There was a succession of more than 20 of these Welsh celibate curates. The stipend was £40 a year.

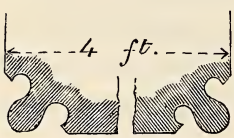
The Church now existing was built at various periods, and owing to the windows having been inserted at different dates, it is impossible, in every part, to decide what is the precise age of the plain masonry in the walls.

The original plan of the church, when the earliest part now existing was built, consisted of a Nave and Presbytery, with north and south Transepts and central Tower, and probably very narrow aisles. As increase of accommodation became necessary, broad Aisles, actually wider than the Nave, were built, in lieu of the narrow ones, and the north Porch and Sacristy were added (*See Plate II.*)

The Church has, in fact, gone through the transformations that the majority of English parish churches have undergone. The Chapel at Charlton Kings is a similar instance. The result, though not unpleasing inside, is somewhat damaging to the exterior, as the excessive widening of the aisles cuts off the due projection of the transepts.

Without digging for foundations it is impossible to ascertain the exact plan of the original church. That the length and breadth of the nave were the same as at present is shown by the original buttresses at the west end, and their position shows also that there were aisles, but there is nothing to determine the width of those aisles. The plan of the Transepts and width of the Sanctuary were

the same as at present, but we cannot say what was the length of the original Sanctuary. The oldest existing portion of the church is the lower part of the Tower and part of the Nave west wall, with its broad buttresses and billet-mould string-course. This belongs to the period of transition from Norman to Early-English, about A.D. 1150. The points distinctively Norman are the cushion capitals in the western Tower Arch, and the abaci of the North and South Arches. These abaci are merely strings, as the arches do not spring from beyond the line of the impost, a very common peculiarity of early work, probably a survival of classical precedent. The indications that mark the transition to Early-English are the pointed shape of the arches, the moulding of the East and West Arches



(Fig.

(*fig.* 5), and the carving on the capitals. The work is somewhat rude, both in design and execution, as we see, especially in the East or Sanctuary Arch, where the abacus is square in plan, and quite unmoulded, and the mouldings of the arch do not seem to fit upon it. The south capital of this arch is rather richly carved with heads and foliage—one representing a Queen and Martyr—the head is crowned, and she holds a palm-branch in her hand.

The Tower is groined with a simple quadripartite vault, the ribs plainly chamfered. There are carved heads at the top of the wall-ribs. The only other place, besides the tower, where any of this transitional work remains, is to be seen outside the west-

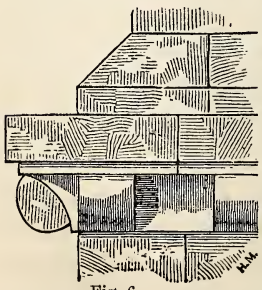


Fig. 6.

end of the Nave, where the original broad flat buttresses with the billet-mould string-course have survived all the later alterations (*fig.* 6). It is interesting to note that this string is exactly the same in detail as that round the upper part of the western turrets at Bishop's Cleeve Church. It originally ran across the west end, from buttress to buttress, but the central part has, unfortunately, been destroyed by the insertion of the modern west doorway. This Transitional part of the church cannot, I think, be later than A.D. 1150.

The ruined Abbey Church of Buildwas, in Shropshire, has Transitional details of a very similar character, and this we know was begun in the year 1135.

The upper part of the Tower as far as the main offset is purely Early-English in style, and decidedly later than the lower part. The walls grow thinner as they rise in weathered offsets, and the lancet windows have a bold roll and hollow moulding. A vertical triple roll, or small shaft, runs up perpendicularly between the windows; this, apparently, was once mitred with a string-course, now cut away. The point of intersection and the profile of the moulded string-course may easily be seen. This mutilation, probably, took place in 1622, when the ashlar facing was repaired. These repairs are recorded by the date and initials J.W., deeply cut in on the South side of the Tower.

The third stage of the Tower: viz., that above the main offset, together with the Spire, are still later in date, as may be seen from the flowing character of the lines of the Bell-chamber windows. This part is early in the Decorated period. Thus the whole Tower and Spire appear to have been built at intervals in three stages, The first, including the four Tower Arches inside, about 1150; the second stage, up to the main offset, about 1200; and the third, including the Spire, not long before the year 1300.

The Spire, which is a very graceful one, is octagonal, with plain broaches and rolls at the angles. The height of the whole is 167 feet. A good many feet of the top of the Spire have been repeatedly rebuilt, and, unfortunately, the original lines were not carried out at the last rebuilding.

Bells.—There is a ring of ten remarkably fine Bells; eight of these were of some antiquity, but have been recast. There is also a small bell marked "William Whitehead," 1674, now lying on the belfry floor. This bell is said to have hung outside the tower. Though from the date it can hardly be a Sanctus Bell, yet its size and position were probably those of the old Sanctus Bell.

Returning to the internal Tower Arches it should be noticed that over the responds of the arches opening from the Aisles to

the Transepts, there is a long butt-joint, where the later work joins on to the earlier Tower. A similar butt-joint may be seen at the other angles of the tower.

As was nearly always the case the Tower stairs opened into the church ; the blocked-up doorway is in the S.E. Angle. There is now no access to the old stairs : the present external stairs outside on the North are quite modern ; and the lath and plaster gangway breaking through the Chancel roof is a great disfigurement.

In spite of the presence ot the late Decorated windows, the distinctly Early-English Piscina and Aumbry *(Plate II.*, J.*)* seem to show that this Southern Transept was built at the same time as the middle stage of the Tower, *i.e.*, in the beginning of the 13th century. Against the east wall of this Transept stood one, or perhaps two Altars *(Plates II.*, F.F.), and at one of these Altars, dedicated to the B.V. Mary, a rich Chantry was endowed.[1] I

[1] There was not always a new Altar specially erected for every new Chantry, and several Chantries might be founded at the same Altar, or even at the high Altar itself. Thus we often find that the number of Chantries in a church have far exceeded the possible number of Altars. The Priest who was presented to a Chantry took an oath to celebrate the proper Masses at their due time, and was responsible for the safe keeping of the vestments and sacred vessels appertaining to his trust.[1] The fittings of some of the small Altars in Durham Cathedral are thus described :—"All the aforesaid nine Altars had their several shrines and covers of wainscote over head in very decent and comely form, having likewise betwixt every Altar a very faire and large partition of wainscot, all varnished over, with fine branches and flowers and other imagerye work, most finely and artificially pictured and guilted, conteyning the several lockers or ambers for the safe keeping of the vestments and crnaments belonging to every altar ; with 3 or 4 amryes in the wall pertaininge to some of the said Altars, for the same use and purpose."—*Mon. and Rites of Durham, p.* 2, *Surtees Soc.*

Some unscrupulous Priests seem to have let to farm their own proper benefices, and to have sought to increase their income by getting themselves appointed to some of the numerous Chantries founded in the great Cathedrals, to the neglect of their own parishes. Thus Chaucer says, speaking in praise of "The Poore Parson of a Town : "—

> "He set not his benefice to hire,
> And let his shepe acomber in the mire,
> And renne to London to Sainct Poules,
> To seeken him a Chauntrie for Souls."
>
> Prol. Cant. Tales, XVI.

1 See Rock, Church of Our Fathers, III., p. 104.

may notice here that a Chantry is not a Chapel or any part of a Church,[1] but it is an endowment in land or money, for celebrating certain masses for the benefit of the founder's soul, (and usually for the souls of his ancestors and all christian souls) whose tomb was often near the Altar at which the Chantry was endowed. There

[1] See Rock, Church of our Fathers III., p. 104.

An allusion to a similar abuse occurs in "The Vision of Piers Plowman": Prologue l. 83—86:—

> "Persons and parisch prestes pleyned hem to the bischop,
> That here parisshes were pore, sith the pestilence tyme,
> To have a licence and a leve, at London to dwelle,
> And syngen there for symonye, for silver is swete."

The Act (37th Hen. 8, cap. 4) which confiscated for the King's use the property of colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guylds, stipendiary Priests, and divers other charities, abolished these chantries, but did not interfere with the Altars at which they were endowed.

The endowment of this Chantry was as under, as shewn by the certificate of John Carrell, Esq., Richard Pate, and Edward Gastwyke, Gent. Commissioners of the King within the city of Gloucester, with the county of the same, and the Towne of Bristol:—

Certificate No. 21.

26.—The Parish of Cheltenham, within the Deanery aforesaid (Winchcombe).

Oure lady Servis

ffoundyd and the landes put in feoffment.

To fynd a preste for ever and he to have for his salary by year, lxxviij s. ixd. q[a]

Our lady servis

ys within the said Church and there ar belongynge to the same Church D. howselynge people

Our lady Servis — Cv s. vd. whereof

ffor the prest stipende - -	lxxviijs. x d. q[a]	Cv s. vd.
ffor Renttes Resoluttes - -	xvjs. vjd.	
ffor the Kynges Tenthes - -	x s. ijd. ob. q[a]	

And so Remanyth — n[l]

The valew of the Ornamenttes, Jewelles, Plate, Gooddes, and Cattalles - - - - xiij s. v d.

According to the Chantry Certificate No. 22. 2nd Edw. VI.

63. The Parishe of Cheltenham within the said Deanery where are of houseling people, DC.

Our lady Service

ffounded by Dyverse persons not knowne, and the landes putt in feoffm[t], with thissues and profittes,

are no signs remaining on the East wall of the Altars or their fittings—thorough "Restoration" has destroyed all marks of them. The rebate and marks of iron fastenings for a door round the square

whereoff here hath bene a priste manteygned singinge at thalter of or lady in the seide church, prayenge for the sowles of the ffounders and all xpen sowles.

Sr Thomas Ball, alias Bristowe, Incumbent there of thage of liiij. yerez havinge no other lyvinge then in the seide service which is yerely iiij li.

The landes and tenementes belonginge to the same are of the yerely value of : - - - - vj li. xs. viij d.

whereof

In reprises yerely - - - -	xixs. ijd.
And so remaynethe clere by the yere - -	cxjs. vjd.
Ornamentes thereunto belongenge, valued at -	xiijs. id.
Plate and Juelles to the same - - -	noone.

The property with which this chantry, in the chapel of the B.V. Mary, and the other one in the Chapel of St. Catherine of Alexandria in the North Transept, were endowed, formed a part of the estate bequeathed by Rich. Pate for support of the Free Grammar School, still existing in the High Street.

The grant to the school is dated 1578, and to it was added the Rent-roll of each portion in the year 1586 (see Goding's Cheltenham). "Cheltenham, one tenement and close, payable at the Feasts of the Annunciation of our Blessed Lady the Virgin and St. Michael the Arch-Angel, sometime belonging to the Chantry of the B. V. Mary, in the Parish Church of Cheltenham, 13s. 4d. For the mansion house or Priest's chamber, payable in like manner, 12s. One tenement, with the appurtenances, payable in like manner, sometime belonging to the late Chantry of St. Catherine in the same Parish Church of Cheltenham, 12s.[1] One parcel of land sometime belonging to the Chantry of the Virgin Mary aforesaid, 16s. 8d. One parcel of ground, sometime belonging to the Chantry of the B.V. Mary, given for the finding of Holy Bread in the same Parish Church, £2 13s. 4d, of which Thomas Ball was the last incumbent."

The following is the Endowment for Holy Bread as appears from Certificate No. 21, 37th Henry viij. :—

Lande for Holy breadde gyvinge in the said parishe. One tenement gyvyne by one Will'm Grevelle to helpe and ease the poor people of the same parish in gyvinge of the holy bredde when it came to theire turne.

Incumbent noone

The said tenement so gyvene ys of the yerely value of xxv.s

whereof

In reprises, yerely - - - -	n$_l$
Ornates, plate, and Juelles - - -	noone

From Certificate No. 23 it appears that there was :

Bestowed upon Holye brede, one yere with a nother	vj. s. viij d.
To the poore of the same Paryshe, the residue, viz. :	xviij s. iiijd.

1 A Chantry in Cheltenham was granted to Sir Miles Partriche (Augmn Office Particulars of Grants, No. 68). There is no entry of any other.

recess by the Piscina, show that this was an aumbry for locking up the sacred vessels of the altar, and not a credence. The flat shelf-room round the basin of the Piscina would generally be used for the cruets at side altars. Very little room would be required, for here only Low Masses would be sung, at which the chalice and paten were brought straight to the altar. There does not seem to have been a wooden shelf as was often the case.

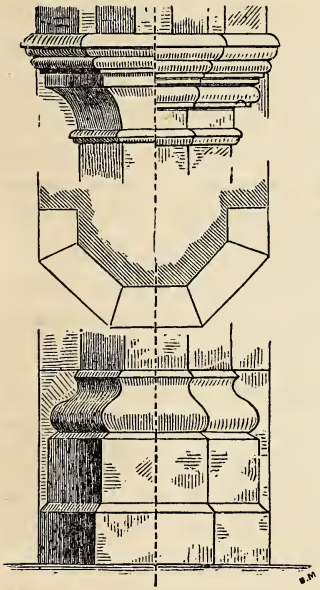


Fig. 7.

The wide arch opening into the south Aisle is very plain, being simply chamfered in two orders like the nave arcade, but without respond shafts. That there were high screens under both the north and south arches of the tower is shewn by holes, now filled up, in the jambs of the arches. A few years ago there was a door under the end window of this transept, but it was quite modern, and has been removed.

Nave.—The arcade is Decorated in date, the arches are simply chamfered in two orders, the piers are octagonal, and the capitals moulded in three or four different sections (*fig.* 7).

The north clerestory windows are plain circular ones, probably contemporary with the Arcade. Those on the south side are a good deal later, being Perpendicular in date; they have two lights and tracery in a four-centred arch.

The west window is apparently of the same date as the arcade,

The "Holy Bread" mentioned is not, of course, the Altar bread or "Singing bread," as it was generally called, for the celebration of the Eucharist, but the Holy loaf, or Eulogia, made of ordinary bread, which was cut up and distributed to the people by the Priest after Mass was finished. The frequency with which this was done varied at different places; in this case the sum provided is so large that it must have been the custom to distribute the Holy loaf, at least every Sunday.

but, like the west aisle windows, it has been much "restored." The present west door is modern, but it replaces an earlier one.

The thrust of the nave arcade has pushed the west wall considerably out of the perpendicular, the flat early buttresses not affording sufficient resistance to the pressure. As mentioned above, these buttresses are contemporary with the oldest part of the Church.

South Aisle.—The inner arch and jambs of the south door (*Plate II.*, K.) are original, though the outer part is modern. This doorway was for a long time blocked up, and a sham window inserted in its place. The west window of this aisle (as well as the east chancel window) is Perpendicular in character, but they are not necessarily much later than the Decorated work all round them. This same transition of the styles may be seen very clearly in the Church of Edington, Wiltshire, which was founded in 1352, and consecrated in 1361, by William de Edington, Bishop of Winchester, who also built the earliest Perpendicular part of Winchester Cathedral. This Bishop died in 1366. It will be noticed that at the east end of this, and also at the east end of the North Aisle, there is an extra window, apparently rather crowded in; these windows were probably put in to throw ample light upon altars standing at the east end of the two aisles against the Transept screens. These Altars are shown upon the plan, though only conjectural. (*Plate II.*, F.F.)

North Aisle.—In plan and character of window tracery this Aisle is very similar to the south Aisle. The old doorway into the stair-case to the room over the porch can be seen, though now blocked up by the west side of the Porch door (*Plate II.*, L.) That the date of the walls of this Aisle is Early Decorated is shown by the ball flowers and other details of the arched tomb-recess in the north wall. The original stone coffin remains built into this arch, but is now covered by the pavement. It is very similar in design to the other wall-tomb in the north transept (*Plate, II.* G. G.). That it is earlier than the window over it is, I think, apparent from the way in which the apex of the arch rises above the window sill. In the west window of

this Aisle are inserted some fragments of old stained glass, taken out of the rose-window in the north transept. The original level of the Aisle pavement is shewn by the porch door, where there is a fine slab of Purbeck marble, inlaid with a monumental brass of Judge Greville (died 1513) and his 3 sons and 7 daughters. The remaining fragment of the inscription is—"Slaughter, whiche William decessid the xi daye of March in the 4th year of the reign of King Henry viii." Slaughter is near Stow-on-the-Wold.

The North Porch is the latest addition to the Church, except, perhaps, the Vestry. It is of rich, and rather late, Perpendicular in character. Inside it is groined with fine lierne vaulting; the wall ribs are four-centred arches. The Tudor rose is repeated several times among the carving of the bosses. The outer doorway to the church-yard has been re-built, probably in the last century; the inner doorway into the Aisle is also modern. There is a room over, which modern antiquaries, for some reason unknown, have called the Parvise. It may have been occupied by a Chantry Priest, who also would have charge of the Church during the night. If this was the case, there was, probably, in place of the modern archway opening into the Aisle, a small window, not like a squint splayed towards an altar, but simply with an outer splay to enable the occupant of the room to command a view of as much of the Church as was possible, and to keep a watchful eye at night, or whenever it was empty. Very possibly, however, this was not a priest's room at all, but simply a muniment room for parish deeds, &c. A fine old oak chest for this purpose now lies in the porch below; it exceeds six feet in length, and is cut out of a solid block of oak, and strongly bound with iron.

North Transept.—The walls of this Transept, or part of them at least, are doubtless Early English in date, like those of the south Transept. The wall-tomb at the north is a Decorated insertion, and the windows are probably somewhat later, about 1350. The east wall is pierced with a large Rose, or Wheel-window, with rich tracery (*Plate II.*, M.) The design of this window is very good, but it looks rather large and out of place under the eaves of the

rather low roof, instead of being in a gable, as Rose-windows generally are. In this Transept there was endowed a Chantry to St. Catherine of Alexandria,[1] and it is probable that this Wheel-window represents the symbol of her Martyrdom.[2]

[1] The endowment of this Chantry is shewn in the Chantry Certificates as under :—

Certificate 21.

26.—*Segnt Kateryne Servis.*

ffoundyd and the lands put in feoffment.

To fynd a prest for ever and he to have for his salary by year, vj li. xiijs. iijd.

Seynt Kateryne Servis ys within the said Church.

Seynt Kateryne Servis - - - - -		vijli. xiij s. iij d.
		whereof
ffor the prest stipende - -	vj li. xiiij s. iij d.	vij li. ix s. ij d.
ffor Renttes Resoluttes - -	n[l]	
ffor the Tenthes - - -	xiiij s. xj d.	
And so Remanyth		n[l]
The value of Ornaments, &c - - - - -		xij s. ij d.

Certificate No. 22. 2nd Edw. VI.

St. Kateryne Service.

The ffundacion thereof unknowene, but the landes & tenementes therevnto belonginge were gyvene by Dyverse persons, and the same putt in feoffm[t] wth the rentes & profittes whereof there hath bene a prist manteigned & kept singinge at thalter of St. Katheryne within the seide parishe Churche for the sowles of the ffundors of the same service and all x̃pen sowles.

S[r] Edward Grove, Incumbent there of thage of lx years, havinge no other livinge thene in the seide service, whiche ys yerely - c s.

The landes and tenementes belonginge to the same are of the yerely value of - - - - - - - - vj li. xvj s. xd.

	whereof
The reprises yerely - - - - - - -	xixs. ijd.
And so remanethe clere by yere - - - -	cxvijs. viijd.
Ornamentes thereunto belonging, valued at - -	x. s. ijd.
Plate and Juells to the same - - - - -	noone.

Memorandum.—That the saide Syr Edward Grove, one of the Incumbentes was charged by speciall covenaunt betwene the parysshoners of the saide Towne of Cheltenham and him, alweyes to teache their Children, whiche Towne is a markett Towne, and much youthe within the same, nere whereunto is no Scoolle kept, Wherefore it is thought convenyent to signyfye unto yo[r] worshipps the same to be a meate place to establyshe some Teacher, and erect a Grammar Scole so it might stande with the Kynges Maiesties pleasure.

[2] At Durham Cathedral there was an instance of a similar wheel-window in honor of St. Catherine. "There is in the east end of the Church a goodly faire round window, called Saint Kathern's window, the

Chancel.—That the Choir was in the Tower is shown by the position of the rood-screen, and there were undoubtedly return-stalls with their backs to this screen, which would not only be ritually correct, but would also make the most of the available stall-room.

Rood-Screen.—The position and height of the Rood-screen and loft are shown by the blocked-up doorways over the eastern responds of the nave arcade. The north one has a four-centred arched head, the other a nearly flat lintel (*Plate II.*, H. H.) The stairs, which were possibly of wood, must have wound up in the east angles of the aisles against the nave arcade. As must have been the case here, these stairs were often very steep and cramped. At Campsall Church, Yorkshire, the only way to the rood loft was by a ladder. Although comparatively few Rood-screens now remain, yet in mediæval times every parish church had one, and it was from this screen or cancellus that the chancel took its name. They were always surmounted by the Rood, which was either a plain cross or a crucifix, the latter usually had figures of the B. V. Mary, and St John at the sides.[1]

bredth of the quire, all of stone, verye finely and cunningly wrought and glazed, having in it 24 lights verye artificially made, as it is called geometricall, and the picture of St. Kathern is set in glass on the right side, underneath the said window is another glazed window," &c. "Mon. & Rites of Durham," p. 2.

[1] The following items occur in the accounts of the Bursar of Winchester College, see Arch. Jour. viii., 81.

"Expenses on Sculpture and Painting for the Rood Screen. 3rd and 4th Hen. IV."

"For the sculptured images of the Crucified, of the Blessed Mary and St. John, 68s. 4d.

For making the Cross, 22 shillings.

For painting the Images and the Cross, £4 10s. 4d.

Packing-cases and Carriage from London to Winchester, 31s. 6d.

Bases for the said images and Crucifix, 20s."

On Festivals rows of Candles were fixed along the top of the Screen, and on account of this the Rood-beam was often called the "Candle-beam."

The Injunctions issued by Henry VIII. in 1536, which abolished many of the lights in Churches, specially retained "The light that commonly goeth acorss the Church by the Rode loft."

Rood-loft.—Its uses were many; antiphons, versicles, graduals, alleluia, &c., were sung from it. Many other musical parts of different services were sung in it.[1] Fasts and Festivals were announced, and often sermons were preached from it.

Lectern.—A lectern was generally placed in the loft; and here I may note that the present position and use of the lectern: viz., on or near the Chancel Arch steps; from which to read the lessons are both inventions of the 17th century, and quite unknown in mediæval times. There was generally one on the north side of the Sanctuary from which to read the Gospel, and sometimes another, less ornate, on the south side from which the Epistle was read.[2]

In small Churches without Aisles or Transepts, an Altar was set against the Screen on each side of the door-way. This arrangement existed at Cowley Church, near Cheltenham. At Patricio, in South Wales, the original Stone Altars still exist in this position, against the magnificent Rood-screen.

At the Reformation, the Crucifix itself and the images were ordered to be removed, but the Screen was never declared illegal, and the removal of it has always been done without authority.

In the 17th century many Bishops constantly enquired of the Clergy in their dioceses, if they had a high Chancel Screen, and insisted on its restoration if it had been removed.

Bishop Cosin, in his Articles of Visitation in 1626, enquired "Is there any Partition between the body of the Church and the Chancel? And if not, when, and by whom, and by what authority was it taken down?" They are still required to be in every Church by the Rubric that directs that "Chancels shall remain as they have done in the times past."

[1] In Churches with Collegiate Foundations the Gospel and Epistle were sung from the Rood-loft.

[2] There was also often a double lectern for antiphons midway between the stalls. The lessons were read from the stalls, the reader's face being turned towards the people, and nothing more seems required by the rubric now in force.

In the Rood-loft also, in some cases, one or more altars were placed, simply, no doubt, on account of want of room on the ground floor of the Church.

This was the case in the now destroyed Church of St. Runwald, at Colchester, and at Ross, in Herefordshire. (See Arch. Jour., vol. xxxv., p. 383). Paper by J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., on State of Churches in 1548.

1 See Mon. and Rites of Durham, p. 11 and 12.

Sanctuary.—The eastern Tower Arch was the Sanctuary Arch, while the Chancel Arch was of course the western one, where the Rood-screen stood. The side windows are Decorated in style, while the large east window is Perpendicular in character, but, as before stated, they need not have been inserted at very different dates. The three-light window on the south (*Plate II.*, D.) is a modern alteration. Part, at least, of the walls are of Early English workmanship, though none of the original buttresses remain.

The Sacristy, or Re-vestry as it was often called, has been re-built, but probably on the foundations of an earlier one.

Priest's Door.—There is a small Priest's door in its usual place in the south chancel wall (*Plate II.*, C.) The fact of this door being nearly always on the south side points to a special use for it.[1]

[1] If it had been simply intended for a convenient private entrance for the Priest from his house to the Church we should naturally expect to find it on the side nearest his house, which is not always the case. Here, for example, the old village of Cheltenham, and the Priest's house were on the north, along the line of the present High street, so the door is on the wrong side for his readiest access. To find the most probable reason for its position we must examine the Rubrics of the old Burial Service (cf. Rock, "Ch. of our Fathers," ii., 476.) The corpse, after resting awhile in the Lych-gate, was brought in a procession, headed by clerks carrying the Processional Cross, Holy water and bell, into the Church, and laid on a bier in the middle of the Nave near the east end, where it was met by the Priest with words of welcome. Then, after the Dirige, and while the choir were singing "the Commendation of Souls," the Priest, vested in Alb and Stole, went into the church-yard, sprinkled with holy water the place for the grave, and marked out the length and breadth of it by cutting out sods in the shape of a cross. He then went back into the Church, and putting on his Chasuble, said mass for the dead person. When this was ended the corpse was carried out to the church-yard, and the priest having put off his Chasuble, again left the church and went to the place where he had traced the cross. The grave was then dug, while the 117th Psalm was being sung, and the Burial service proper was gone through. It was almost universally the custom to bury the dead, if possible, on the south side of the church-yard; in many places even now the people have a great dislike to having their friends buried on the cold and sunless north side. Hence it seems almost certain that the chief reason for placing the Priest's door on the south was for his greater convenience in slipping in and out of the church during the first part of the Burial service. The custom of bringing the corpse into the church has survived to a great extent, though the old reason for it no longer exists, and nothing is said or done, which might not be said with equal propriety by the grave side.

Nothing remains of the original High Altar or its fittings (*Plate II.*, A.) In this case there is no room for a fixed Reredos, probably a moveable Dossal, or Retabulum, was set behind the Altar. The present oak table was made in 1638.

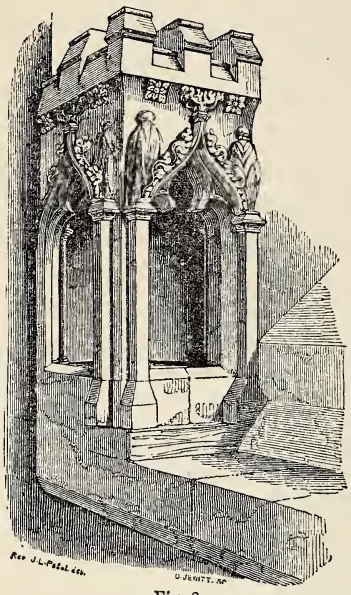


Fig. 8.

The Sacrarium, or Piscina is a very handsome one of most unusual design (*Plate II.*B.) It is late Decorated in style, probably about 1350-60. It consists of two Ogee crocketted Arches, opening, one towards the altar and the other westward towards the stone bench, which served as sedilia. It has a battlemented cornice and angle buttresses. At the corners, under the cornice, are much mutilated carved statuettes. One of them holding a sword probably represents St. Paul. Of the eastern-most one nothing remains but the pennon, or flag, which the figure held; this was possibly John the Baptist, or perhaps the risen Christ. The others are not distinguishable. The whole thing is much mutilated on its eastern side, and it is possible that there was originally a recess for a Credence here (see *fig.* 8). The flat space round the basin often served for this, and in some cases it was a movable table.[1] At the Altar of St. Edward, at Westminster, there was a brass Credence (see Inventory, Vol. IV. of Middlesex Arch. Soc.).

[1] This was probably its original character, the word being derived from the Italian *credenza*, which means a side-board. The name Credence does not seem to have been used before the end of the 16th century, but the word *sacrarium*, among its many meanings, was often used for the combination of Piscina and Credence.[1] It is also often referred to as "Locus Administrationis." The sense in which the word "Sacrarium" is generally now used, viz.: for the Sanctuary, is comparatively rare in old writings.

1 In Cistercian writings the Credence is often called the "Ministerium," which word is also used for the Sideboard in the Frater.

On the West side of the Piscina, just under the Cornice, is a sort of cross, or rather 6-leaved figure, rudely scratched with a pair of compasses—traces of paint are still visible on this, and a few years ago the colors were much clearer than they are now. The ground was red, and the arms of the figure blue. I think that this is one of the Dedication Crosses, though the form is somewhat unusual. These Crosses are generally about the size of the figure here represented, drawn within a circle scratched on the stone, or plastering, and coloured red or blue. They are sometimes cut in very deeply, and occasionally, though rarely, made into elaborate little, or even large, ornaments. I have failed to discover any of the other Dedication Crosses inside the church, but this is, without doubt, partly owing to the fact that a great deal of the original internal plastering has been scraped off.[1] There is, I believe, no instance where internal rough stone walls were not plastered, or intended to be plastered, originally : the modern mania for bare rubble stonework inside churches was not in the least shared by our mediæval ancestors. Old plastering was very much thinner than what is used now, very often, in fact, it was only thick enough to fill up and level the projecting inqualities of the stone. Towards the quoins and other stone dressings it was simply thinned off, and they were not built projecting to receive the plaster. Unfortunately many modern architects take this absence of projecting quoins to be a proof that there was originally no plastering, and the internal walls of many a church have been ruthlessly flayed under this misapprehension, to the utter destruction, not only of the Dedication Crosses, which often remain concealed under the whitewash, but also causing the loss of many valuable paintings, inscriptions, and other ornaments. The external crosses seem to have disappeared under the attacks

Both Credence and Piscina were nearly always on the South side ; those recesses so common on the North side being really Aumbries.

The peculiarity of this Piscina in being open on two sides is also to be found in a Piscina discovered lately, built into a wall at Charlton King's Church, which was originally a Chapelry of this church, it has been built into the Sanctuary wall in, or near, its original place.

[1] Since writing this, Mr. Anslow Sole has pointed out to me the remains of another Dedication Cross on the North jamb of the Chancel Arch.

of the weather, and the many re-patchings which the walls have undergone. Originally every church had 12 of these crosses inside and 12 outside, equally distributed on its N.S.E. and West sides. They marked the places where the Bishop had annointed the wall with Chrism or Holy Oil in the act of Benediction. If the Chancel of a Church was re-built, or an important addition made, the new portion often had the full number of 24 Crosses. Thus, at Arundel Church there still exist 5 inside the Nave and Aisle walls, so placed that it is evident there were 12 inside,[1] without counting those in the Chancel.

Throughout this Church, the woodwork of the roof, seats, and doors is entirely modern.

On the north-east of the churchyard there still exists the base and shaft of a very graceful tall stone cross of Decorated style. The Cross at the top has unfortunately been destroyed, and its place has recently been supplied by a sort of coping of four meaningless gablets, in place of a sun-dial that used to be there.[2]

There are now lying in the Churchyard two large trefoil-headed Stone Coffins, probably of the 13th century. They were turned out of the church about 20 years ago. One of them belongs to the arched wall-tomb in the north transept. The other was, I believe, found buried in the Nave.

[1] Inside Henry the VII.'s Chapel at Westminster there are 9 large Dedication Crosses still visible. They are painted on the stone wall and have each a wooden plug in the centre, possibly for fastening a silver cross to on Festivals. There is also below each another wooden plug to hold a lamp or candlestick.—(Communicated by J. T. Micklethwaite. F.S.A.)

[2] On Palm Sunday the Churchyard Cross was always wreathed around with palm branches and garlands of flowers. Thus we find in a Will of Henry Bunn, dated 1501, an order for a Churchyard Cross to be set up in Hardley Churchyard, "Pro palmis in die ramis palmarum offerendis" (Blomefield's Norfolk x., 141). It was also a station in various processions when the Blessed Sacrament was carried round the churchyard.

The author of a MS. on the Ancient Monuments of the Cathedral Church of Durham, writing in the year 1593, speaks thus of the destruction of a similar, but much richer cross in Durham. "It (Neivell's Cross) did there stand and remayne most notorious to all passingers till of laite, in the year of our Lord God 1589, in the nighte tyme, the same was broken down and defaced by some lewde and contemptuous wicked persons, thereunto encouraged (as it semeth) by some who loveth Christe the worse for the Crosse sake, as utterly and spitefully dispising all auncyent ceremonies and monuments."—"Mon. and Rites of Durham," p. 24.

THE POYNTZ FAMILY.

By the Rev. H. L. THOMPSON, M.A., Rector of Iron Acton.

Read at Cheltenham, July 9th, 1879.

The restoration of Iron Acton Church has once more drawn the attention of archæologists to the monuments of the Poyntz family, which have existed there for many generations; and I am glad to be allowed to speak to you to-night about the ancient family which erected them, and which, though still surviving, is no longer connected with this county.[1]

From very early times the family of Acton had held the manor of Iron Acton. Sir Robert Atkyns says that it came into their possession soon after the Norman Conquest. At all events, it had descended through several generations to Sir John Acton, who died without issue in the 17th year of Edw. III. (1344). His estates passed to his cousin Maud; and Maud was the second wife of Sir Nicholas Poyntz, second Baron of Cory Mallet in Somersetshire, who had served in the Scottish wars in the reign of Edward I., and who died in the 5th year of Edw. II (1312). Sir Nicholas Poyntz had, therefore, been already dead for many years when the Iron Acton estates came to his family, and Maud, who died in 1362, was an elderly woman; but the estates passed, through her, to her son Sir John Poyntz; Sir Nicholas leaving the Cory Mallett estates to Hugh, his eldest son by his first wife. The family of Poyntz, then, first became possessed of the manor of Iron Acton in 1344; and from that time onward they continued, son succeeding father, till the death of another Sir John Poyntz in

[1] The writer desires to acknowledge the great assistance he has received from the Rev. Frederick Brown, of Beckenham, who has generously allowed him the use of his MS. notes on the Poyntz family, representing the labours of many years. He has also gained much information from the Rev. Newdigate Poyntz, of Little Drayton, and Mrs. Blandy Jenkins, of Llanharan.

1680, at whose decease without issue the manor was sold to William Player, Esq. Thence it passed by purchase to Sir Samuel Astry, and afterwards to Sir Philip Parker, from whom it descended to the family of Long, of Rood Ashton. Walter Hume Long, Esq, the present lord of the manor, married, in 1878, a daughter of the Earl of Cork; and thus, as will be shewn later on, has once more connected the Poyntz family with their ancient property. But, as the family of Poyntz was already venerable and famous when it first came into possession of Iron Acton, so it has maintained its existence in spite of the termination of the Iron Acton branch in the 17th century; and at the present time, there is a little boy, Newdigate Poyntz, born in 1875, whose direct descent can be traced by thoroughly good evidence through seventeen generations, up to Maud the heiress of the Actons, and Sir Nicholas Poyntz her husband; and beyond that again, if we may accept the testimony of Dugdale and the authorities quoted by him, as far back as the fifth year of Stephen. There is little doubt that a far higher antiquity can be rightly claimed for the family, and a direct connection established between them and Rollo, Duke of Normandy. In the "Collectanea Cliffordiana," by Arthur Clifford, Esq. (Paris, 1817), their earlier history is thus given. William, fifth son of Richard *sans peur*, (Grandson of Rollo) was Count of Hiesmes, but levied war against his brother Richard *(le Bon)*, was besieged at Hiesmes, taken prisoner, and confined by Richard at Rouen for five years. He escaped from his imprisonment, but ultimately threw himself upon his brother's mercy, who treated him well, and on the death of Gislebert, son of his brother Geoffrey, Count of Eu, he made over to William the county of Eu, and gave him in marriage Esseline, daughter of Count Turchetil. From this marriage four sons were born, the youngest of whom was Ponts. This Ponts, like his eldest brother Robert, Count of Soissons, went over to England at the Conquest. He was the father of three sons, Richard, Drogo, and Walter. Walter is said to have been Lord of Lea, in the Forest of Deane; Richard was the ancestor of the Clifford family, and grandfather to fair

Rosamund Clifford (*"rosa mundi, non rosa munda"*), the mistress of Henry II. The second brother, Drogo, was the ancestor of the Poyntz family. His son, Osbert Fitz Poyntz, is said to have been Sheriff of Gloucestershire in the 5th year of Stephen, and Hugh Poyntz, son or grandson of Osbert, is said to have attended King John into Poitou, and to have married Heloise, daughter of William Mallet, of Cory Mallet in Somersetshire. He was thus the first Poyntz of Cory Mallet, and was grandfather to the Sir Nicholas Poyntz, who married Maud the heiress of the Actons.

The Poyntzes of Cory Mallet survived in the male line for only five generations; for Sir Nicholas Poyntz (who died in 1369) left no son, but only two daughters, both of whom married. The Iron Acton branch comprises eleven generations, beginning, as I have said, with Sir John Poyntz the son of Maud, and ending with Sir John Poyntz who died without issue in 1680, and who lies buried with his ancestors in Iron Acton Church; the first and last of that long line of whom it is recorded in the Parish Register that he was buried "in woollen only, according to the directions of an Act of Parliament made and provided in that case."

But from the Iron Acton stem two important branches issued, to which I must now call your attention.

Nicholas Poyntz, who died in 1451, had two wives; and by his second wife, Elizabeth Hussey, daughter of Henry Hussey, a Sussex gentleman, he had issue a son Henry, who was the founder of the family of Poyntz of North Ockenden in Essex. This branch, in the 7th generation, was represented by Catherine, daughter of Sir Gabriel Poyntz, and she married Sir John Morrice of Chipping Ongar who assumed, with her fortune, the name of Poyntz, and died in 1618. Her son and grandson, James and Richard, succeeded to the estates; and on the latter dying unmarried at Montauban, in 1643, the property passed to the Littleton family, who assumed the name of Poyntz in addition to that of Littleton. The church of North Ockendon contains many monuments of the Poyntz family, including the brasses of

Sir William Poyntz (ob. 1504) and Elizabeth his wife (ob. 1502), sister of Sir John Shaw, Kt., Lord Mayor of London in 1501.[1]

This was one branch from the Iron Acton stem. The second, and far more important one, issued two generations later. Those who know the church of the Gaunts (or Mayor's Chapel) at Bristol, will recollect the very beautiful chapel, partially paved with Spanish tiles of exquisite design,[2] which is associated with the name of Poyntz. It was built by Sir Robert Poyntz, who died in 1520, and lies buried there. In his will he directs that he "be buried in the church of the Gaunts, beside Bristol, in the chapel of Jesus, which latter I have caused to be new edified and made, of my cost and charge, on the south side of the chancel of the said church, and the overpart thereof, behind the Presbytery there . . . . The said new chapel, which I lately edified, is not in all things perfected and furnished yet according to mine intent, that is to wit, in glazing of the windows thereof, and making of two pews within the said chapel in the lower end of the same. Mine executors shall finish and perform all the same things being yet undone, and also shall garnish the same chapel with certain images, and the altar of the same with altar cloths, vestments, book, and chalice, and with all other things thereunto necessary. . . ." (After mentioning certain manors) "The Master of the house of the Gaunts to take the issues of the same, to provide an honest and considerable priest to sing mass at the altar in the said chapel of Jesus. . . The said priest to have for his salary six pounds. A solemn *obiit* for my soul to be kept in the said church of the Gaunts on the day of my departing; in the evening '*Placebo*' and '*Dirige*' by note, and on the day following Mass of Requiem by note. And four tapers of wax, every of them a pound weight, be brenning upon my herse about the crucifix at all times, during

[1] Thomas, son of this Sir William Poyntz, was a merchant, resident at Antwerp. Tyndale, the martyr, was his guest there for nearly a year. By treachery Tyndale fell into the hands of the Emperor, and was condemned to the stake, having first been strangled, 1536. Thomas Poyntz escaped with much difficulty to England, and died in Essex, 1562.

[2] Sir Francis Poyntz, 3rd son of Sir Robert, was agent to Spain in 1527. Perhaps the Spanish tiles were brought over by him to decorate the chapel where his parents were buried.

the said Dirige and Mass. And six and eight pence stirling to be distributed in alms to the poor. The said priest shall always be tabled and lodged within the same house of the Gaunts."

This Sir Robert Poyntz married Margaret Woodville, daughter of Anthony, Earl Rivers. He was a wealthy and powerful man, and we read of him at the court of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He is mentioned among the Knights Bachelors present at the tardy coronation of Elizabeth of York in 1487. He accompanied the King in the expedition to Exeter against Perkin Warbeck. Henry VII. dined with him at his house at Iron Acton in 1486. He was at a later date appointed to take part in the reception of Catharine of Arragon, and he was in attendance upon Henry VIII. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. He was the father of eight children. His eldest son Anthony succeeded to the Iron Acton estates, and John, his second son, became Lord of the Manor of Alderley in Gloucestershire. We may notice the importance of the Alderley branch of the family, both on account of the famous men belonging to it, and because it serves as a point of departure for the other, and still existing branches of the family.

John Poyntz of Alderley married Catharine, daughter of Sir Matthew Browne of Beckworth, Surrey; and it is to be noticed that the name Matthew, now appearing for the first time in the pedigree, was borne by the great grandson of this John, the famous lawyer Sir Matthew Hale, whose body lies in Alderley churchyard. To the same line belonged Robert Poyntz, who died in 1566. He was educated at Winchester and New College, but gave up all hopes of a career at home by embracing the Roman Catholic religion. He became a student of Divinity at Louvain, and published a small work (Lovanii, 1566), entitled "Testimonies for the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, set forth at large and faithfully translated out of six ancient Fathers, which lived far within the first six hundred years, together with certain notes, declaring the force of those testimonies, and detecting sometimes the Sacramentaries false dealing." The six fathers chosen are Chrysostom, Cyril,

Cyprian, Hilary, Augustine, and Ambrose. The chief interest of the book lies in the curious narratives of the power of the Holy Eucharist in the exorcism of devils.

The manor of Alderley continued for only four generations in the Poyntz family, being sold to a Mr. Rogers by Robert Poyntz, who died without issue at the close of the 17th century. But from the first Lord of this Manor, John Poyntz, issued another and more durable line of the same ancient family; for his youngest son William, who died in 1601 at Reigate, and married Elizabeth Newdigate (the name Newdigate now first appears), was ancestor of two very considerable branches of the family; the Benefield and Hexton branch on the one hand, the Midgham and Cowdray branch on the other. His wife was the daughter of a Surrey gentleman, Thomas Newdigate, and this seems to have brought him to Surrey, where his sister Alice also settled, as wife of John Skynner, one of the Clerk Controllers of the household of Queen Elizabeth. His son John united the Alderley with the Iron Acton branch by his marriage with Ann Sydenham, whose mother Mary was a Poyntz of Iron Acton; and John's son Newdigate, of Benefield, Northants, by his two marriages, founded the Benefield and Hexton house, and also the Midgham and Cowdray house.

From this Newdigate Poyntz, by his first wife Sarah Foxley, comes the little Newdigate Poyntz who was born in 1875—seven generations having intervened between them; and from the same ancestor, by his second wife Mary Perkins, came, in the third generation, the first Lady Spencer, mother of the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire; and in our own days this line is represented by the present Earl Spencer, through his mother Elizabeth Georgina Poyntz; by the present Marquess of Exeter, through his mother Isabella Poyntz (both daughters of William Stephen Poyntz, of Cowdray Castle), and by the present Earl of Cork, through his grandmother Isabella Henrietta, daughter of William Poyntz of Midgham.

The marriage of the 1st Earl Spencer (then Mr. Spencer) with Georgina Poyntz is full of romance. She was very beautiful, and he had resolved to make her his wife on the very day of his

coming of age. She was staying at Althorpe at the time with her mother and two sisters (her father had died in 1750), and the marriage was celebrated quite privately, in one of the rooms, on the evening of December 27, 1775; the persons necessary for the marriage withdrawing quietly from the company, and the guests in the house being for the most part quite ignorant of the event till some days afterwards. Horace Walpole sneers at the rich Commoner's marriage with "the daughter of a nobleman's tutor;" but not only was Miss Poyntz herself a person of singular beauty and goodness, but her father, the Right Honourable Stephen Poyntz of Midgham, besides boasting a long ancestry, had been a distinguished diplomatist. He had been Minister Plenipotentiary in Sweden, and one of the English Commissioners at the Congress of Soissons (1729). The foundation of Horace Walpole's sarcastic comment was the fact that Stephen Poyntz, after leaving College, had travelled for a time as tutor to the Duke of Devonshire, and had been afterwards Governor to William, the bloody Duke of Cumberland.[1] Lady Spencer survived her husband many years. She died in 1814, and is buried at Brington, Northants.

The grandson of the Right Honourable Stephen Poyntz was William Stephen Poyntz of Cowdray Castle, the father of the late Countess Spencer and the late Marchioness of Exeter. Two tragical events are connected with his life, by one of which he gained possession of Cowdray, and by the other was deprived of the heirs to inherit his name. His wife was Elizabeth Mary, daughter of the 7th Viscount Montagu, and her brother, George Samuel, was the 8th Viscount. He was a young man in September, 1793, when his splendid seat, Cowdray Castle, was destroyed by fire. But news of the calamity never reached him. He was at that time travelling on the continent with a friend, Mr. Burdett, and at the beginning of October, 1793, was at Schaffhausen. While there, he conceived the insane desire to shoot the falls of the Rhine in a small boat, and though the authorities of the place did all in their power to prevent him, and

[1] Mr. Poyntz built two rooms at Midgham House for the special accommodation of the Duke of Cumberland. I believe they are still called "The Duke's rooms."

his own servant seized him by the coat and tore his collar off as he entered the boat, he and his friend pushed off, and were soon beyond reach or help. They plunged into the fall, passed the first descent in safety, and then, while shouting and waving their handkerchiefs in token of success, were carried into the second fall, and there perished. Their bodies were never recovered. By this event Cowdray Castle passed to Elizabeth Mary, sister of Viscount Montagu, and wife of William Stephen Poyntz. Their family consisted of two sons and three daughters; the sons were named William Montagu Browne, and Courtenay John Browne. It might be thought that in these two sons there was fair promise of an heir to the spendid estate so lately acquired; but it was not so to be. In the year 1815 the family was staying at Bognor, and the father one day started with his two boys for a sail in a pleasure boat, leaving the mother and daughters at home, in a drawing room overlooking the sea. They were engaged in studying French with a master (from whose lips my informant heard the narrative), when they saw the boat capsize, at a little distance from shore. Mr. Poyntz was saved; his two sons were drowned. No male heir remained to inherit Cowdray Castle, and soon after the death of Mr. Poyntz in 1840, it came into the possession of the Earl of Egmont.

You will remember that the Poyntzes of Midgham and Cowdray (of whom I have just spoken), were descended from Newdigate Poyntz of Benefield, by his second wife Mary Perkins. They therefore represent the youngest, though perhaps the most prosperous branch of the ancient family. But Newdigate Poyntz had issue also by his first wife Sarah Foxley; and I must now say a few words about this line of hisdescendants. His brother Sir Sydenham Poyntz must not be passed over without notice, for he was a distinguished Parliamentary General in the Civil War, commanded a large body of parliamentary forces after the battle of Naseby, and routed the king's horse at Chester, in an engagement in which the Earl of Lichfield was killed. A silver medal, struck in his honour, is now in possession of the Rev. Newdigate Poyntz.

Newdigate Poyntz (his brother) had eight children by Sarah Foxley, four sons and four daughters, and from this marriage descend the Poyntzes of Hexton, Herts, allied by two marriages to the ancient family of Taverner, and for two generations Lords of the manor of Hexton. Fifth in direct descent from Newdigate came the Rev. Newdigate Poyntz, Rector of Tormarton, Gloucestershire. His eldest son, the Rev. Nathaniel Poyntz, had one son, Newdigate, who died at Winchester College, aged 18, in the lifetime of his father, and on the very day of his grandfather's funeral at Tormarton. The succession, in consequence of the death of this only son, passed to a nephew, the Rev. Newdigate Poyntz, son of Newdigate Poyntz, Commander, R.N., who was second son of the Rector of Tormarton, and this Rev. Newdigate Poyntz, Vicar of Little Drayton, Salop, is father to the child whose birth occurred in 1875.

I must now go back to the more special subject of my paper, the Poyntzes of Iron Acton, who, as you remember, held that manor from the time of Edward III. to the time of Charles II.

The second owner of the manor, Sir Robert Poyntz, who died in the 17th of Henry VI., (1439) is famous in our parochial annals. Three slabs in the church mark his grave and the graves of his two wives—the first, Ann (I know not of what family), and the second, Catharine, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Fitz-Nichols, a member of the Berkeley family. This Sir Robert Poyntz is undoubtedly associated with the erection of the unique and beautiful preaching cross which stands in our churchyard; for the shields which it carries have the arms of Acton and Fitz-Nichols incised upon them; the arms of Acton *(quarterly, per fesse dancetté, argent and gules)*, borne by Sir Robert Poyntz, as Lord of the manor of Acton; and the arms of Fitz-Nichols *(quarterly gules and or, a bend argent)* borne by his second wife, Catharine. The date of the cross is thus clearly assigned to a period to which its architecture exactly corresponds, the beginning of the 15th century. A more difficult question has arisen with regard to the connection of Sir Robert Poyntz with the existing fabric of the church. Round the verge of his slab runs the in-

scription: "*Here lyth Roberd Poyntz, Lord of Iren Acton and thys stepyl here maked who deyde the fyftene day of Junne, the year of owre Lord* MCCCCXX[XIX] *of whos soule God have mercy, Amen.*" Lysons, who gives a copy of the slab, naturally infers from these words that Sir Robert Poyntz built the tower of the church. But the tower is of an earlier date than the body of the church, and, if its architectural features can be trusted, it can scarcely have been built during the life of Sir Robert Poyntz. The church itself he might have built; the preaching cross he certainly did build. If the word "stepyl" could be applied to the tall and elegant canopied preaching cross, the difficulty would be solved. Otherwise I am inclined to believe that Sir Robert Poyntz built the tower, choosing a style of architecture already somewhat old-fashioned, or, perhaps, completing a tower which had been begun in the Decorated style some years before.

The slab of Catharine Fitz-Nichols, second wife of this Sir Robert Poyntz, bears a few letters round the verge which enable us to identify it; but it was used two centuries afterwards to serve as a memorial of Elizabeth, wife of Robert Poyntz Esq., who died in 1631. And this name of Elizabeth Poyntz (who was one of the Walshes of Little Sodbury, and a wife for less than four years), brings us by a rapid descent to a group of three monuments, all belonging to the same generation. The first is that of Florence, wife of Edward Poyntz Esq., who died in March 1598, "juxta computationem Anglicanam." These words are added because the New Style had but lately been introduced by Gregory XIII. A similar phrase ("juxta usitatam ecclesiæ Anglicanæ computationem") occurs on the next slab, that of Hugh Poyntz, who died as a young man in March 1604. The third slab I have already mentioned, that of Elizabeth, wife of Robert Poyntz. The three here named, Edward, Hugh, and Robert, were sons of Sir Nicholas Poyntz of Iron Acton, by his second wife, the Lady Margaret Stanley, daughter of Edward, 3rd Earl of Derby. This Sir Nicholas died in 1586, and in 1575 had enjoyed the honour of entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Iron Acton, on her progress from Greenwich to Bristol. The present ancient

manor house was probably then but lately built, and a fit place for the reception of royalty. His two sons, Edward and Hugh, seem both to have owned the manor of Tockington; but Hugh died unmarried at the age of 24, and Edward, who was twice married, died in 1613. Edward was also connected with Caerleon. His first wife, Florence, who is buried at Iron Acton, was daughter of John Jones, Esq., of Tre Owen, and her son was the first of a Monmouthshire branch of the Poyntz family, one of whom, Rowland, was a Popish Recusant.

The monument of Florence Poyntz is not mentioned in Bigland. About 150 years ago it had been made to serve as a gravestone for a Mrs. Richmond, mother-in-law of the Rev. Thomas Shute, Rector of the parish. She died in the 101st year of her age, and her son-in-law, anxious to show respect for his venerable relative without incurring undue expense, appropriated the Poyntz slab, turned down the ancient inscription with face to the soil, and placed an inscription to his mother-in-law upon the reverse side. The deed was discovered a few months ago, during the restoration of the church; and I regret to say that more than one slab had been treated in the same way by our predecessors of the 18th century.

There are no other monuments in Iron Acton church which I can, with *certainty*, assign to the Poyntz family. There exist, however, two recumbent effigies, one of a knight in armour, said to be of the time of Edward III., and the other of a lady. The first is perhaps the figure of the first Sir John Poyntz of Iron Acton; the effigy of the lady is of somewhat larger proportions, and perhaps of a later date. There is also an exquisite canopied tomb (probably of the 16th century), which bears no inscription, but is decorated with three shields with supporters. I had hoped to find coats of arms upon these shields, after the removal of many layers of whitewash; but I was disappointed. Two of the three are blank, and the third contains only the *fesse dancetté* of the Actons, rudely incised. A helmet, with spur and mantlet, hangs against the wall of the Poyntz chapel, and, perhaps, is a memorial of the last Sir John Poyntz. Upon the parapet of the

tower of the church is fixed a half-length effigy of a knight in armour. It was evidently once a complete figure, and recumbent; and was removed (I know not when) in its present mutilated state, to the lofty position which it now occupies. One more monument should be noticed, though I have no reason to connect it with the Poyntz family. Beneath a plain and nameless tomb, of Jacobean work, on the north side of the altar, has been discovered an oblong slab, 6 feet 8 inches long, in the centre of which is a very beautiful and elaborate cross flory, deeply cut in the freestone, and to the east of this cross a missal and chalice, also deeply incised. Round the verge an inscription had run, but only one letter remains, the rest having been ruthlessly effaced. There is also a depression where a brass was fixed. This slab evidently covered the grave of a priest, one of the pre-Reformation rectors. He had been buried, as was customary for priests, with head to the east, so that he might rise and meet his people face to face at the last day. The date of the slab is not known, and I can only conjecture that it belongs to the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The last Sir John Poyntz of Iron Acton died without issue in 1680. He was the son of Sir Robert Poyntz, who was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I., and wrote a treatise in vindication of Monarchy. Sir John Poyntz had married Ann Cæsar, a Hampshire lady, daughter of Robert Cæsar, Esq., whose great grandfather Sir Charles Cæsar had been Master of the Rolls to King Charles I., and whose great great grandfather, Sir Julius Cæsar, had been Master of Requests and Judge of the Admiralty to Queen Elizabeth, Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, and one of the Privy Council to King James I. and Charles I.

This Lady Ponytz survived her husband nearly forty years, dying in 1729. She was buried in St. Katherine's Church near the Tower, by the side of her parents and her sister, Mrs. Rampayne; and it is, perhaps, worth while to quote the poetry which appears on the two tablets now to be seen in St. Katherine's Church in the Regent's Park.

Dame Ann Poyntz's monument bears the verse :

The table next adjoining shews
How much her sister's death she mourned ;
And this, how faithfully her love
Is by that sister's son returned,

and the next tablet bears witness to her devotion to her sister, and her power as a poet—the only poet of whom Iron Acton can boast.

Passenger, stay! This richest grave
A small delay may justly crave.
Virtue adorn'd with wit and beauty,
Religious love, conjugal duty,
In this small cabinet lies enshrined,
While glory gilds her purer mind.
Both her parents near her lie,
And bear her reliques company.
Kind death, which usèd friends to part,
Joins these, who living had one heart.
Renowned Sir Julius Cæsar lent
Unto them all noble descent.
Dying she did a son bequeath
In whom she lives in spite of death.
Thus when the old Phœnix sweetly dies,
She new does from her ashes rise.

Her husband's love this monument rears ;
Her sister writes these lines with tears.

Dna. Anna Poyntz scripsit.

A Pedigree of the Family will be printed hereafter, as soon as it can be got ready.

ON THE LANDHOLDERS OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE, NAMED IN DOMESDAY BOOK,

By ALFRED S. ELLIS.

THE names of all the landholders in Gloucestershire, A.D. 1086, and the exact amount each of them held, are particulars preserved in the well-known and minute Survey of the realm, ordered by William the Conqueror, called "Domesday Book," and this essay is an attempt to give some general interest to the bare names therein recorded. It was no part of the Conqueror's intention to obtain any personal details beyond the name of the actual holder of the land under the crown, the name of his tenant when any manor was subinfeuded, and the name of the earl or thane, in the time of King Edward, of whose property he had had an entire or or partial grant after the Conquest. But Domesday Book, unfortunately, rarely affords any evidence as to whether the various fiefs were still in the hands of the original grantees, or had not already passed, by inheritance, once or more during the twenty years which had elapsed since the Conquest. William fitz Baderon had succeeded to a barony which Wihanoc, his uncle, had held some years before, and Baderon, his father, might have intervened, but though Wihanoc's name is once mentioned, nothing is said about this in the Survey. We learn this, however, from other sources. Domesday Book, albeit, does, sometimes, incidentally, supply some most valuable and curious information, as will be found in the following pages. It shows that Roger de Laci had succeeded his father, and Roger de Pistres, the sheriff, had been succeeded by his brother, Durand, although he had left a son and heir, who, ultimately, obtained the hereditary shrievalty. I think that, in the majority of cases, the fiefs had changed hands once, at least, though the fact is not mentioned. The commissioners were

satisfied by the verdict of the juries, and the statement upon oath of the landowners themselves, or of those who appeared for them provided with the necessary evidences. Though we cannot learn, with certainty, the names of all those who first obtained estates in this county, a good many of those who fought, or were present, at Hastings, were, without doubt, still living. Such, we know, were Robert, Count of Mortain, and Geoffry, Bishop of Coutances; but about those of less note, like Gilbert fitz Turold, it must be matter of conjecture, as such are not named by any of the chroniclers.

It should further be remarked, as the great number of holdings in this county show, that the majority of the Tenants in capite of Gloucestershire, had the bulk of their estates and the caput of their baronies in other counties, and their lands in this were only outlying parcels which fell to them when granted the entire property of certain thanes. Thus Ralph Paynel obtained a grant of all the lands of the great northern thane, Merlesweyn, chiefly in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, which carried with it estates he had had, even so far south as Devonshire, and, among the rest, four hides and a half in Gloucestershire. The minor tenants in capite, apparently those with not more than six manors nor any lands elsewhere, would have held of the earl, had there been one, and paid relief to the sheriff. It would be these fiefs which were subjected to the earldom, when erected by Henry I. for his illegitimate son, Robert.

In the following pages I have given all such particulars as I could gather about those Normans, Bretons, and Flemings, who answered the summons of Duke William to assist him to conquer England, and, subsequently, when this was accomplished, had lands in Gloucestershire allotted them.[1] It has been said Normandy, at the date of the expedition, was suffering from overpopulation in proportion to its cultivated area, and the young and adventurous hailed the opportunity. Many, it is certain, risked

[1] We should know very little about them, generally, had they not, mostly, been benefactors to abbeys, particularly favouring St. Peter's, Gloucester, after the Norman Serlo became Abbot, who was mainly instrumental in obtaining these gifts.

their all in the venture, and served without pay, on the promise of ample recompense if the kingdom were conquered, and thereupon sold lands, rights, and reversions, to abbeys, to raise that then scarce commodity, at least among the laity, ready money, so needful for a military outfit and for the exigencies of a campaign.[1] Everything turned out beyond expectation, and a year or two saw the whole country apportioned to the followers of the Norman Duke, now King of England. Everywhere the old English landholders, whether they actively opposed the invasion or not, were, with very few exceptions, where the favour shown was of the most limited kind, ruthlessly dispossessed. In Gloucestershire, in 1086, we find six thanes, still holding a few hides of the lands they had formerly possessed. Edric Ketelson had been allowed to inherit some of his father's land, and Eddiet, or Edith, had a hide in Bickmarsh, which she had held in the days of the Confessor. One Elfrid held, in King Edward's time, half a hide in Morton of the Abbot of Westminster as of his capital manor of Deerhurst, and was still holding it in 1086. Even the church lands changed hands, for, on the first opportunity, the bishoprics and abbacies were given to Norman priests and monks. Some of the Normans who had been brought over by King Edward, as Osbern, Dean of Bosham (Bishop of Exeter, at a later date), brother of William fitz Osbern, though they had introduced some Norman customs, had nevertheless contracted English habits, and do not appear to have welcomed the wholesale advent of their own countrymen.

[1] To take an example :—Roger de Builly sold the tithes of his manor of Builly (en-Brai) to Rainer, Abbot of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen "for 72 pounds of (silver) pennies and a horse," as we learn from the cartulary of that abbey. What Roger obtained for his services, constituted in after times, though nothing had been added, a baronial honour of over 60 knights' fees, or in extent sixty times, probably, his own patrimony in Normandy. These lands were in Notts and Yorksh., but Queen Matilda had given to him with his wife, Brictric's manor of Sanford, in Devonshire, as the Survey states, and doubtless also the manor of Clifford, in Gloucestershire. The latter Roger, with *Muriel*, his wife, gave to the Abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester, about 1086 if not that very year. This is the only connection of Roger de Builly with Gloucestershire. An account of him may be found in "Yorkshire Archæol. Journal," Vol. IV., p. 142.

As to Gloucestershire, it was apparently not until the time of Henry I. a county proper, it was still in 1086 a shire, or *share* of an earldom, a sheriffwick, or viscounty. It had been, at the death of Edward the Confessor, one of the shires of Earl Harold's Earldom. Down to the time of Cnut, the north-eastern part of Gloucestershire, the sheriffwick of 'Wincelcumbe,' appears to have been a separate jurisdiction within the earldom of Mercia. Winchcombe at the date of Domesday Book, was still the only borough in the county, besides Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Bristol.

To William fitz Osbern, his confidential councillor and dapifer, the Conqueror immediately entrusted the reduction and organization of all this part of the West of England with the defence of the southern third of the Welsh March, with plenary powers and directions to erect castles at various stragetic points. The castle at Gloucester would be one of the very first of these, the site chosen belonged to the abbey there, part was a garden, and the Survey further informs us "there had been sixteen houses where the castle stands." Among the others recorded to have been built by him were, a fort ('castellulum') at Nesse and a castle at Striguil (Chepstow), to defend and command the passage, across the Wye, of the great Roman road into South Wales. The hall built by him at Chepstow, in the Norman manner, of which Lillebonne and Rufus' great hall at Westminster, still existing, are noble examples, yet remains, though much altered by the walls having been subsequently raised. This hall was intended to have been 90 by 30, but from want of skill in the builders, or the hurry of the works, it is neither rectangular nor a parallelogram. William fitz Osbern was soon after made Earl of Hereford, where he, doubtless, chiefly resided to be near the Welsh border and the scene of frequent inroads by the Welsh. The southern part of what was afterwards Monmouthshire, which had never, as yet, been divided into hides for rating, was, when reduced, apparently by him, surveyed and assessed by carucates of the Norman measure, and, temporarily, if not permanently, placed under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Gloucester. The tenants in this district will not, however, be noticed in this paper. Though Earl William had been dead fifteen

years he is frequently named in the Survey as having made feoffments and grants, either for himself or acting for the crown. The earl's lands in Gloucestershire are mentioned in the first division of this notice, under the heading of I. REX.

It is not the intention of this essay to give an analysis of the Survey, as the Rev. R. W. Eyton has done for Dorsetshire in a manner that shows how complete a master he is of the subject, but to confine it, exclusively, to personal matters.

The Survey gives only an imperfect return of those who had burgess-tenants in the town of Gloucester, but the list can be supplemented from the accounts of those manors which had tenants there. In the same way we can get a list of those who had burgess-tenants in Winchcombe, who are not otherwise mentioned.

In the Cottonian Library (Codex. Vesp. B. XXIV.) is a book, which formerly belonged to Evesham Abbey, in which are several folios, written, apparently, in the time of Henry I., containing more than one abstract of Domesday Book for these parts; and also, what is unique, on folios 53 and 55, a return of those who had houses in the towns of Gloucester and Winchcombe. Sir Henry Ellis, who printed this in his Introduction to Domesday (Vol. II., p.446) suggested that it was, possibly, one of the original "Returns made to the Commissioners who formed the Domesday Survey, and were afterwards abridged." He was mistaken as is proved, by the occurrence of the name of Bishop Sampson, who was not consecrated Bishop of Worcester until 15th June, 1097. After him, Hugh, Earl of Chester, is named, who died 20th July, 1101. This return was, therefore, made between these dates, but this period, so far as I can see, cannot be further reduced.

As this is the only record referring to this county between Domesday Book and the Pipe Roll of 1131, I give it entire, as of great local interest and little known. This may, perhaps, be another fragment of a Survey, possibly of the whole realm, founded on Domesday Book, and, apparently, made by Henry I. soon after his accession, of which an original portion, referring to Lincoln-

shire, preserved in Cotton MS., Claudius C.v., and printed by Hearne in the second vol. of Liber Niger, is all that is known to exist.

This interesting fragment is given in the second column, and in the first I have supplied the names in Domesday Book which those in this return seem to represent, and the rest, unidentified, are written beneath.

Tempore Regis Eadwardi erant in civitate GLOECESTRIE CCC. burgenses in dominio reddentes XVIII. li. et x. sol. de Gablo per annum. Ex his sunt C., III. minus residentes in propria hereditate et C. III. minus manentes in emptis mansionibus Francigene Anglici, que valent x li. per annum, et has tenuerunt per XII. annos hoc est sexcies XX.li. Et infra castellum manserunt de hiis CCCXXIIII., et quater XX et. II. mansiones sunt wastæ.

(From Domesday Book)				
		Archiepiscopus Eboracensis habet in eadem civitate,	LX	burgenses.
(Episcopus de Wirecestre	IV.)	Episcopus Samson	VI.	,,
(Eccl. de S. Petri de Gloucester ...)		Abb. eiusdem civitatis et exceptis iis Stanborc I. mansionem habet.	LII.	,,
(Eccl. de S. Dyonisii	XXX.)	Derherst	XXXVI.	,,
(Eccl. de Evesham	IV.)	Abbas Evesham'	IV.	,,
		Abbas Persore	I.	,,
(Comes Hugo	XI.)	Comes Hugo Cestriæ	XIII.	,,
(Tewkesbury	VIII.)	Robertus filius Haim.'	XXII.	,,
(Rogerius de Laci	VIII.)	Hugo de Laceio	XXVIII.	,,
		Bertone regis pertinent	XXIII.	,,
Berchela	I.	Berchelai	III.	,,
Durand-vicecomes	IV.	Walt, de Gloucester	XV.	,,
		Hugo. asinus	II.	,,
Drogo. filius Pons.	I.	Walt. filius Ricardi	II.	,,
		Rad. Bloiet[1]	VI.	,,
(Eccl. de Troarz	I.)	Horseleai	I.	,,
		Wlmarus	I.	,,
		Ascelinus de Tateberia[2]	V.	,,
		W. de Saio[3]	I.	,,

1 Ralph Bloiet's name occurs thus once in full in the Survey, where described as holding of William de Eu Alestan of Boscumbe's, manor of Silchester, Hants, but he held other manors of him, particularly Hinton, in Somerset, called ever since his day Hinton-Blewett. His descendants, who remained there until very recently, held Raglan Castle of the de Clares. He was probably brother of Robert Bloiet, Bishop of Lincoln, the patron of Henry of Huntingdon, and came from Briqueville-la-Blouette, near Coutances. Ralph Bluet gave Rodley to the monks of Gloucester in the reign of Rufus.

2 See acount of Roger de Ivri (XLI.)

3 William de Say was husband of Agnes d. of Hugh de Grentmesnil (LXII.), and therefore brother-in-law of Roger de Ivri (XLI).

Willelmus filius Baderon	II.	Willielmus filius Badder	XVII.	
		Hamelinus de Badelun[1]	I.	burgenses
		Henr. Com.[2]	I.	,,
Godfridus de Mandeville	VI.	W. de Manauuilla[3]	VI.	,,
Ernulf de Hesding	VII.	Patricius de Cahorc[4]	VI.	,,
		Gislebertus de Cenomann	I.	,,
Episcopus Osbernus	...	Et super omnes istos habet Rex saccam et soccam et X Ecclesiæ sunt in socha Regis propriæ. Tempore Rogeri vicecomitis reddebant de firma XXXVIII, li. et IIII. sol. Modo reddit'. XLVI. li, et Walterus vicecomes habuit LXIII. sol. de rogatu et Prepositus XL. civitas vero pejorata est de LX. li. (fo. 53)		
(Eccl. de Glastonberie	I.)			
Arnulf Presbyter	I.			
Rob. de Todeni	I.			
Walter Balistarius	I.			
Henricus de Ferieres	I.			
Willelmus Scriba	I.			
Berner	I.			
Willelmus Calvus	I.			
Hadeuuin	I.			
Gosbert	I.			
Dunning	I.			
Widard	I.			
		In WINCELCVMBE burgo. In dominio R. E. erant LX. burgenses reddentes XLI. sol. de Gablo per annum. De hiis sunt LII in hereditate sua manentes et VIII. habent alii burgenses que valent per annum XXX. sol. hoc est XXII. li, et. X sol. per XV. an. Preter hoc Abbas habet en eo	XV.	burgenses
Eccl. de Evesham	I.	Abbas Evesham	II.	,,
Episcopus de Hereford	I.	Episcopus Hereford		...
		Derhurst	I.	
		Hugo asinus	I.	,,
		Langabera	III.	,,

1 Hameline de Baladun was lord of Abergavenny, and gave the chapel in the castle there to the Abbey of St. Vincent, at Mans. He was son of Drogo, and was born at the castle of Baladon (Ballon in Maine). His wife Agnes and his sons William and Matthew are mentioned in his charter. (Martene's Thesaurus 1. p. 578.) He died in the reign of Rufus (one of whose favourites he was), on a 5th March. His brother Wynebald gave lands in Ampney to Gloucester Abbey in 1125. Hameline and Matthew de Baalun held of Henry de Newmarch's fief in Gloucestershire, in 1166.

2 Henry de Newburgh, made Earl of Warwick, second son of Roger de Beaumont (XL.), to whose lands in Gloucestershire he had succeeded.

3 This proves that William de Mandeville had succeeded his father at the date of this return. In 1086 Geoffrey had Walden and other manors in Suffolk and Essex, gave Hurley, Berks, to the monks of Westminster, where they established a priory, further he gave them the manor of Eia, Middlesex (now *Ebury* St., etc.) Two wives are mentioned in his charters, Leceline and Athalaise. He was port-reeve of London, and, it would appear, also constable of the Tower, an office confirmed to his grandson, the Earl of Essex.

4 Patrick de Cahors married a dau. and coheir of Ernulf de Hesding (LX.)

		Ro. fil. Haim(on)	V.	burgenses
		Turst. de Cormeil et I. Molendin.	II.	,,
		Herold et II. Molendin.	X.	,,
		Rob. de Belhismo	III.	,,
		Walt. de Walerico et		
Rogerius de Laci	III.	Hug. de Laceio	I.	,,
Henricus de Ferieres	II.	Rob. de Ferrer	II.	,,
		Hug. de Ham	I.	,,
		Ric. de Solariis[1]	I.	,,
		Rad de Salceto[2]	III.	,,
Willelmus Goizenboded	II.	Will. de Guiz en bod.	III.	,,
		Rob. de Lacei[3]	I.	,,
		W. de Froisselupu	I.	,,
Rex.	XV.	Et super omnesistos Rex habet		
Episcopus de Wirecestre	I.	suum geldum. Tempore Rogeri		
Eccl. S. Dyonisii Parisii	II.	vicecomitis redd. X li. et modo XXI.		
Tainus Alwold.	I.	li. numero et vicecomes habuit de rogatu XII. sol.		(fo. 55.)

I. REX.

Under this heading we have :—

1. What the king was retaining of the ancient demesne of the crown, and certain lands of Queen Edith and of Earl Harold.

2. The lands of the thane Brictric Algarson, which Queen Matilda had, and which, on her death, reverted to the crown, and were afterwards granted to William Rufus.

3. Escheated lands, as those of Roger Earl of Hereford, forfeited for treason in 1074, and some few manors apparently yet ungranted.

(1). Of the first-named were the royal demesnes of Cheltenham, (King's-) Barton, Berkeley, Westbury (-on-Severn) Bitton, Slaughter(-Upper) Barton(-Regis), near Bristol, and Awre, with their members, or berwicks, all free of hundredal jurisdiction. The tenants of these manors, by the bailiff or provost, had provided for one night's entertainment of the royal progress once a year, apparently, or fed the hounds, besides the rent.

1 Richard de Solers, ancestor of the family who long held Shipton Solers in this county.

2 Ralph de la Saussaye, i.e. Willow plantation.

3 *Robert* de Lacy occurs nowhere else unless this were the son and heir of Ilbert de Laci of Pontefract.

We must confine our remarks to the personal matters recorded. Reinbald held the church lands in Cheltenham. Milo Crispin 'was holding' Bruerne, a member of King's Barton, which Archbishop Aldred had let to farm. Hunfrid, the chamberlain, holds Upton (St. Leonard), another member of the same, which Alwine, the sheriff, had let to farm, as he had also Morewent, a third member, 'now' held by Nigel, the physician.[1]

At Cirencester the queen had the wool of the sheep, apparently at the 'new' market, which had been established there, of which the canons of St. Mary's church had the third penny. Certain lands laid to King Edward's farm in Westbury, by a certain Sapina, and yet accounted for by the sheriff, are held by the Abbot of Cormeilles, Osbern, and William fitz Richard, in 'Chire, Clifton,' Ladewent, Newent, and Kingston; the first three named places cannot be identified.[2]

Three members of the manor of Awre have been, unlawfully it appears, separated from it, viz.: Periton, the fee of Earl William, Eteloe, held by Roger de Berkeley, and Blideslow, by William fitz Baderon; Alwine, the sheriff, had put these out to farm. Concerning Berkeley and Barton, juxta Bristol, refer to 'XLII., Roger de Berkeley.' The latter manor, with Bristol, paid the king 110 marks of silver. The burgesses (of Bristol) say Bishop Geoffrey (VI.) has thirty-three marks of silver and one of gold, *besides* the king's rent. This is all we learn about the royal burgh of Bristol, except that the church there, meaning probably St. Philip's, holds three hides of land in Mangotsfield, a member of the manor of Barton, that the Bishop of Worcester, had two houses in Bristow appertaining to Westbury-on-Trym, and that

[1] 'Nigel Medicus' was physician to Roger de Montgomeri, Earl of Salop, and, probably, also, with others, to the king himself. He had six manors in Wilts, one of which was held of him by Durand, the sheriff. Lands here and in Somerset he gave to the church of St. Mary, at Montcburgh, from which he, probably, came, for he was a cleric. He obtained from Earl Hugh, the prebend of Wistanstow and other preferments and church lands held by a priest named Spirtes, a great pluralist in King Edward's time.

[2] Chire and Clifton cannot be Shirehampton and Clifton, as the county historians asserted.

the Bishop of Coutances had ten houses there belonging to his manor of Bishport.

The king retained in his own hands Queen Edith's manor of Marshfield. This was the only estate the widow of Edward the Confessor had in this county; it may have been dower land, settled on her by Earl Godwin, her father. She probably retained it until her death, on 19 December, 1074. Of her brother, King (but in the Survey always *'Earl')* Harold's lands, ten hides in Alveston, and five hides in Nass, were all the Conqueror kept, except the lands of three thanes in Dudeston hundred, which *Earl* Harold took after the death of King Edward. A passage very carefully worded, to ignore that he was ever king. Roger de Ivri, put these out to farm. Gueda, the mother of Earl Harold, had held Woodchester. Earl Godwine, his father, had bought it of Azor and settled it on his wife for her support so long as she dwelt at Berkeley. Edward[1] was holding this with the farm of Wiltshire, and no one appeared to give any account of it to the king's commissioners. Elsi de Ferendone (? Farringdon, in Berks) farmed of the king four hides in (Great) Barrington, which Tovi Widenesci, a huscarle of Earl Harold, had formerly held.

(2). The extensive lands in this county, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, of the great thane, Brictric, son of Algar, had been in the possession of Queen Matilda, and the well known story told by the monk of Tewkesbury, about her having obtained them to revenge a former slight by him, is probably in the main true. Most of the details are, however, inaccurate, but that he was taken at his manor of Hanley, in Worcestershire, not a place near Salisbury as supposed by Leland, and sent to Winchester, where he was kept in captivity, seems very probable. I venture to suggest that he survived the queen, and then experienced some clemency on the part of the king, perhaps at the conscience-stricken queen's dying request, and that he was then allowed his lands at Wood-

[1] Edward of Salisbury, was Sheriff of Wilts, in 1086. He was brother of Gerold, dapifer of Normandy, and father of Walter of Salisbury who married Sybil, dau. and co-heir of Arnulf de Hesding (LX.) Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, was Walter's son.

chester and Leckhampton (see the King's Thanes), to spend the rest of his days in peace upon. Brictric's capital manor had been Tewkesbury, which, together with its dependencies, contained no less than "three score and fifteen hides!" He had, no doubt, soke rights and other franchises, which freed him of the hundreds. All his outlying lands in the northern part of Gloucestershire owed suit and service to Tewkesbury by arrangement of himself or one of his predecessors. His other manors in this county were distinct, viz.: Fairford, twenty-one hides; Thornbury, eleven hides; Avening, ten hides; and (Old) Sodbury, ten hides. Tewkesbury was a borough with 13 burgesses, and paying a rent of 20s. per annum. The queen had established a market there. In the town was an ancient priory dependent on Cranbourne Abbey, conditions afterwards reversed, founded by one of the ancestors of Brictric, and endowed with twenty hides of land in the immediate neighbourhood. The whole lordship of Tewkesbury was, in King Edward's time, rated for Danegeld at 100*l.*, when Ralph (de Ivri?) received it only 12 *l.*, because it was destroyed and ruined. This looks as if brought about by Brictric having vainly made a defence. In 1086, the whole was rated at 40*l.*, though Ralph 'pays' 50 *l.* Dunning, Hermer, Alwine, and another who held lands in the neighbourhood in King Edward's time, had commended themselves for protection to the great thane, Brictric, whose influence was second only to Earl Harold in these parts, but that he was ever 'lord of the Honour of Gloucester, and lord of Bristol," are statements improbable in themselves, not made until long after by the monks of Tewkesbury, and were suggested by subsequent circumstances. Rufus, it is said, in 1089, granted these lands, with Barton, near Bristol, to Robert fitz Hamon, but not 'the Honour of Gloucester.'

Brictric had eight burgess-tenants in Gloucester. In Hanley were four hides without the demesne, but belonging to Tewkesbury; it was here, it seems, Brictric was taken. There was a wood with a 'hay' in it here, and this land had been Earl Williams', but now in the farm of Hereford, that county being in the king's hands. Robert de Oilgi farms ten hides in Shenington,

parcel of Tewkesbury. The queen gave, when lady of Tewkesbury, seven hides in Clifford to Roger de Busli, apparently with his wife, Muriel, as she did also Sanford, in Devon, another manor of Brictric's. Roger and Muriel gave Clifford to St. Peter's, Gloucester. Of the lands of those thanes who had commended themselves to Brictric one Gerald holds manors in Kemerton and Ashton. The queen gave three hides in Wincot to Rainald, the chaplain.

Hundfrid holds Dunning's lands of the king. Two hides in Twining the queen gave to John, the chamberlain, and two manors in Stokes Bernard now holds of the king. The queen had Brictric's manor of Thornbury, which, like several other lordships in this county, had a supply of salt from a tenant at Wich. (Droitwich.) Hundfrid seems to have been the provost, or bailiff, here, paying 50*l.* (per annum) by tale. This same Hunfrid farmed the extensive manor at Fairford, which the queen had, also Old Sodbury and Avening where there was an eyry of hawks, no doubt from Brictric's time. The queen gave lands at Fairford to John the chamberlain, and to a certain Baldwin. Brictric had lands in 'Modiete,' where Roger de Laci has a fishery, with land, and the Abbot of Malmesbury another; by the king's gift they say. Two fisheries the king also had; all these were in the Wye, and were claimed, apparently as such, by William de Eu.

(3.) Of the lands of William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, which were an escheat to the crown on the rebellion of Earl Roger, his son, in 1074, the king retained these:—Lydney, where Earl William had thrown four manors into one: those of the Bishop of Hereford; of the Monks of Pershore; and of two unnamed thanes. Earl William seized the great estate of the Abbot of Bath, in Tidenham (30 hides) at the time held by Archbishop Stigand, and he gave the advowson to the Abbey of Lire, a virgate of land to his brother, Bishop O(sbern,)[1] two fisheries in the Severn, and a

[1] Although the Survey says Earl William gave this to his brother, Bishop O, yet Osbern did not become a Bishop (of Exeter) until three years after the earl's death. (See pedigree of the earl and the bishop, under the heading V. 'Episcopus Osbernus,' post p. 103.)

moiety of one in the Wye to Walter de Laci; and to Ralph de Limesi (Castellan of Striguill) two fisheries in the Wye. There were no less than 53 fisheries in the Severn here, eleven in demesne, besides 2 others in the Wye, which had been established by Earl Roger. Earl William made one estate of 11 hides in Beckford which had been held by Rotlesc, a 'huscarle' of King Edward, and of 8 hides in Aston, the land of Turbert, a thane of Earl Harold. The Inquest, however, declares it has never seen the king's writ notifying the grant of these to Earl William, but he had given the advowsons to the Abbey of Cormeilles, and three hides in Beckford to Ansfred de Cormeilles. Roger de Ivri has let these manors for 30*l*.

The Manor of Tockington Earl William had kept in demesne, formerly 8 hides belonging to the thane Ulgar. The earl, also, retained in demesne the lands of Edric Lang, a thane of Earl Harold, in Hemstead. Besides these Earl William had held 10 hides in Forthampton and 4 in Hanley, appertaining to the great lordship of Tewkesbury; Pirton, a member of the king's manor of Awre; and half a hide near Gloucester, which he gave, when Ulward the owner was outlawed, to his own cook. King Edward's manor of Dimmock (20 hides), which King William held for four years (1067-1071) in his own demesne, was afterwards held by Earl William, and then by his son Roger.

Ulward had held Chedworth (15 hides), which, it appears, had been in the possession of Earl Roger, if not in that of his father; also 4 hides of a thane of King Edward's, named Chenvichelle, in Alfredington, now Arlington.

We find three manors in the hands of the king in 1086 which had been in the possession of his half brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, viz :—a manor (ten hides) of Baldwin son of Herlwine, in Bradley hundred; 15 hides in (Down) Ampney, which had been granted to Ednod (the staller) by King Edward; and the lands of Eilmar, in Hullased.

Eilmer's manor of four hides in Barrington was also kept by the king, it was farmed at this date by Godwin of Stanton.

II.—ARCHIEPISCOPVS EBORACENSIS.

The Archbishop of York, at this date, was the first Norman who held that see. Thomas, Canon of Bayeux, the successor of the venerable Aldred who had crowned the Conqueror King of the English, and had died of grief at York, on Friday, 18th Sept., 1069, just before the destruction of the minster by fire. The youthful canon,[1] who was appointed the Whitsuntide following, his successor, was personally rich, and, it is said, obtained this high dignity for money lent to William for the expedition to England. The new archbishop found his diocese in a most wretched condition consequent on the Conqueror's recent devastation of Yorkshire; "the light of religion all but extinguished," and the blackened ruins alone remaining of the great and historic Minster. Young, resolute, and energetic, the prelate "faced the difficulties before him with the Norman love of labour and organization." On account of the poverty of the Northern Province, Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, when made Archbishop of York in 1060, had attempted to retain his old see in commendam to benefit it, but this the Pope would not allow. However, Aldred, for this purpose, kept possession of twelve manors of the Church of Worcester, and also no fewer than forty-nine hides of the lands of St. Peter's Abbey, at Gloucester, which he had formerly held with the abbey. These were twenty-four hides in (North) Leach, fifteen in Standish, and ten in Oddington, which last, the Survey states, "St. Peter, of Gloucester, had in demesne till King William came to England." Aldred, when Bishop of Worcester, had rebuilt the Abbey Church of Gloucester, but it was not so much on account of these works as of the expense to him of the great hospitality he kept, that he

[1] He is said to have been son of Osbert, a priest, of Bayeux. Muriel was his mother's name. But Mr. Planché, "The Conqueror and his Companions," Vol. II., p. 272, cites a charter of William the-Conqueror, dated 1081, one of the subscribing witnesses of which, is "Thomas Archiepiscopus *Regis filius*," to infer that he was an illegitimate son of the king. It is certain that, not only was Thomas advanced in a most unusual way at an early age, but Sampson, his brother, was ordained a priest, 14th June, 1096, and the *next day* consecrated Bishop of Worcester. Nor was this all, for Sampson's two sons were: Thomas, Archbishop of York, and Richard, Bishop of Bayeux.

retained these abbey lands, Barton among the others, and when he obtained the Northern Province, he appropriated them to the Church of York. Thus we find these lands, in 1086, in the hands of his successor, Archbishop Thomas, who, at last realising the injustice of retaining possession of them any longer, on Palm Sunday,[1] 1095, formally restored them to the abbey, with expressions of contrition. For about 39 years the abbey had thus lost the profits of most of its property. In 1086 the abbot was holding only one hide of his own land in Standish, apparently of the archbishop. Walter fitz Pons was holding a manor of twelve hides in Stowell of the lordship of North Leach, no doubt enfeoffed by the archbishop. Besides the demesne of St. Peter, the archbishop had, in this county, manors in Church-down, Hucklecot, Norton, Compton (-Abdale), and Swindon, near Cheltenham, which had belonged to Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the time of King Edward, and, apparently, down to that prelate's deposition, Easter 1072, when they will have been granted by the Conqueror to the Archbishop of York. Of these, Walchelin, nephew of (Walchelin) Bishop of Winchester, 'holds' Norton of him, and a vassal of Roger de Ivri holds lands in Compton, which the archbishop claims. Swindon, the prelate held as parcel of the lands of St. Oswald, as also the manors of Widford and (North) Cerney.

The Canons of St. Oswald were under the patronage of the Archbishop of York, and exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop, or even of the Archbishop of Canterbury, within whose province it was, which caused hot disputes.

Besides these, as appears by Domesday Book, the archbishop had the lands of Gundulf in Shipton; those of a certain Pin in Hagepine, now Hampen (where Ansger was the archbishop's tenant); and those of Ulchetel in Lassington; in 1086 in the tenure of one Roger.

The archbishop was claiming one hide in Standish, which Hugh, Earl of Chester, "was *unjustly* holding;" and three hides

[1] 'Dominica in ramis palmarum.' Hist. et. Cart. S. Petri., Glouc., Vol. I., p. 11., and Mon. Angl. I., p. 110.

in the hands of Durand, the sheriff, which Earl William had given to Roger brother of Durand.

The archbishop died at York, Sunday, 18th Nov., 1100, and for a sketch of his life the reader should refer to "Fasti Eboracenses." An impression of his seal is extant.

III.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE WIRECESTRE.

Of the lands of the Bishop of Worcester, within whose See the whole of Gloucestershire was included, except, probably, the forest District, which was in the diocese of Hereford as early as 1288, the most important in this county and the most southern was great the lordship of Westbury(-on-Trym), one of its most ancient possessions. The Survey does not mention the bishop's college of canons here of venerable foundation, but fitful existence. There were fifty hides here, and the bishop's jurisdiction extended nearly to the burgh of Bristow, in which were two houses appertaining to the manor. Henbury, Redwick, Stoke(-bishop),[1] and Yate, were members of the manor. A small park, a residence for the bishop, was, if not at this date not long after, separated from the manor and called, for that reason, Sneyd (Snæd). Normans were holding other outlying lands of Westbury under the bishop, viz.: Turstin fitz Rolf, five hides in Austreclive; Gilbert fitz Thorold, three hides and-a-half in Compton(-Greenfield); a certain Constantine, five hides in Itchington; and Osbern Giffard, four hides of the same land. The last also held two hides in Condicot.

The Bishop had also two other great lordships in this county, both thirty hides in extent—Withrington and (Bishop's-)Cleeve.

[1] The 'vicus' of Stoke, near Westbury, had anciently belonged to the Abbot of Berkeley, was given by him, for the liberty of his monastery, to Ethelred, alderman of the Mercians, son-in-law of King Alfred; and Ethelred, that king being witness, *restored* Stoke to the Church of Worcester, A.D. 883 (Mon. Angl. I., 197). It appears that in 804 lands here and at Westminster, *i.e.* Westbury, Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, by will bequeathed to the Church of Worcester, after his death, or the decease of Ciolburga his mother, if she should survive him. I mention this because the historians of Gloucestershire say Stoke-bishop was called so from the Bishop of Coutances, but that prelate's lands were evidently at Harry-Stoke.

To Withrington belonged four burgages in Gloucester and one in Winchcombe, and there were these Norman vassals holding of the manor:—Morin, lands in Foxcote; Anschitel, in Colesbourne and Wilcot; Robert, in Dowdeswell and Pegglesworth; Schelin, in Notgrove; and Drogo (fitz Pons) in Aston.

Of the Bishop's manor of Cleeve, Durand, the sheriff, holds six hides in Southam; one Ralph, four hides in Salperton; and Turstin fitz Rolf, six in Gothrington; of the same land Bernard and Raynald held seven hides in Stoke (-Archer), but will not perform service to St. Mary.

The bishop had one other great estate, Bibury, twenty-one hides, of which Durand (the sheriff) 'holds' a manor in Barnsley; one Eudo, seven virgates for a manor in the same place, and Orderic[1], Eycot. Sewin 'held,' of the church, eight hides in Colesbourne, which Walter fitz Roger (de Pistres) 'now holds.'

The see, or monastery of Worcester, had formerly other lands in Gloucestershire, three vills which had been wrested from it by Edric Streona, 'id est Adquisitor,' who, it appears, when alderman of Mercia, had joined the sheriffwick of Wincelcumb, then a separate jurisdiction, to that of Gloucestre. This is a very interesting, though hitherto an unnoticed, fact, and seems to show that not until the time of Ethelred or Cnut, did this county assume its present extent. Gloucestershire, even then, did not actually become a county until Robert was made earl by his father Henry I.—for before the conquest it had been only the shire of a shire-reeve under the great Anglo-Saxon earls; under the Conqueror and his son, a viscounty merely.

Lands in Hampton had been usurped by Roger de Ivri while Bishop Wulfstan was on the king's affairs at Chester. A memoir of Bishop Wulfstan does not come within the scope of this paper.

IV. ECCLESIA DE HEREFORD.

The Bishop of Hereford held, in King Edward's time, Prestbury, *i.e.* the Priest's burgh, a lordship of thirty hides, with a burgess-

[1] Ordric was provost of Alveston, in Warwickshire "and many other of the bishop's vills," in the time of Wulfstan. Another Ordric was one of the bishop's dapifers at the same time (Mon. Angl. I., 136).

tenant in Winchcombe. Of these thirty hides, twenty were in the vill of Sevenhampton, without the hundred of Cheltenham, in which Prestbury was situated. Of these twenty hides Durand (the sheriff) 'holds' two. The whole manor was, in 1086, rated at sixteen pounds, or four more than in King Edward's time—an improvement in value which is quite exceptional, as a depreciation was the rule almost everywhere. Robert, the bishop of the same city 'holds' this manor. This was Robert, 'Losing,' prebendary of St. Paul's, who had been consecrated Bishop of Hereford, 29th Dec., 1079, and died 26th June, 1095. Another bishop, at this date, Herbert of Thetford, was also surnamed 'Losing,' from a French word signifying to cozen, Losenger, a flatterer or liar, as used by Chaucer.

V.—EPISCOPVS OSBERNVS.

Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, brother, as the Survey itself informs us, of William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford. The lands held by him in Gloucestershire belonged, not to his see but to himself, doubtless by grant from the Conqueror, and had been formerly possessed by Aluui, a vassal of Earl Harold. They were: a manor of five hides in Titherington, and another of two, but only one taxed, at Oldland, in the parish of Bitton. At Tidenham, formerly a great estate of the Abbot of Bath, "Earl William gave to his *brother*, Bishop O[sbern], one virgate of land with one villan." He had also one house in Gloucester. Besides this the bishop had personal estates in five other counties, and the manor at Bampton, in Oxfordshire, held of him by 'Bishop Robert' (? of Chester), Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, gave Tuffley to S. Peter's, Gloucester, in the time of Abbot Serlo, apparently before 1086, as this place is set down in the Survey as then a member of the Abbot's manor of Barton.

King Stephen, by his charter dated at Oxford (1135-9), granted to Milo de Gloucester all the land that the Bishop of Exeter had held in this county, which "the bishop had given to him and by his charter confirmed," with sac and soke and other privileges. This evidently refers to Bishop Osbern's lands, but dates render it improbable that the Bishop gave them direct to Milo, unless when a youth.[1]

[1] Royal Charter, No 13. Duchy of Lancaster in Record Office.

As in no book, except Dr. Oliver's "Lives of the Bishops of Exeter," is there any account of Bishop Osbern, giving the interesting particulars which may be gleaned about him, I append them here.

Osbern was one of those Norman priests who came to England, either with the King Edward, or, at least, in his time, was received into royal favour and abode with the king. He is no doubt the "Osbernus Capellanus," who witnessed a charter of that king dated 1065, and the Osbern the king's chaplain, one of the witnesses of the king's second Westminster charter, dated Jan. 1066. We find by the Survey that in King Edward's time he had received the Church of Bosham, in Sussex, with its extensive lands, amounting to no fewer than one hundred and twelve hides, which he was still holding in 1086. This appears to have been a collegiate church, and he was no doubt the provost, or dean.[1] According to the learned Prynne, who is the only one who mentions it, in much later times the Bishop of Exeter was still in the place of dean, or provost, of this college, evidently as successor of Osbern, who seems to have retained it, probably with the bishopric, until his death.

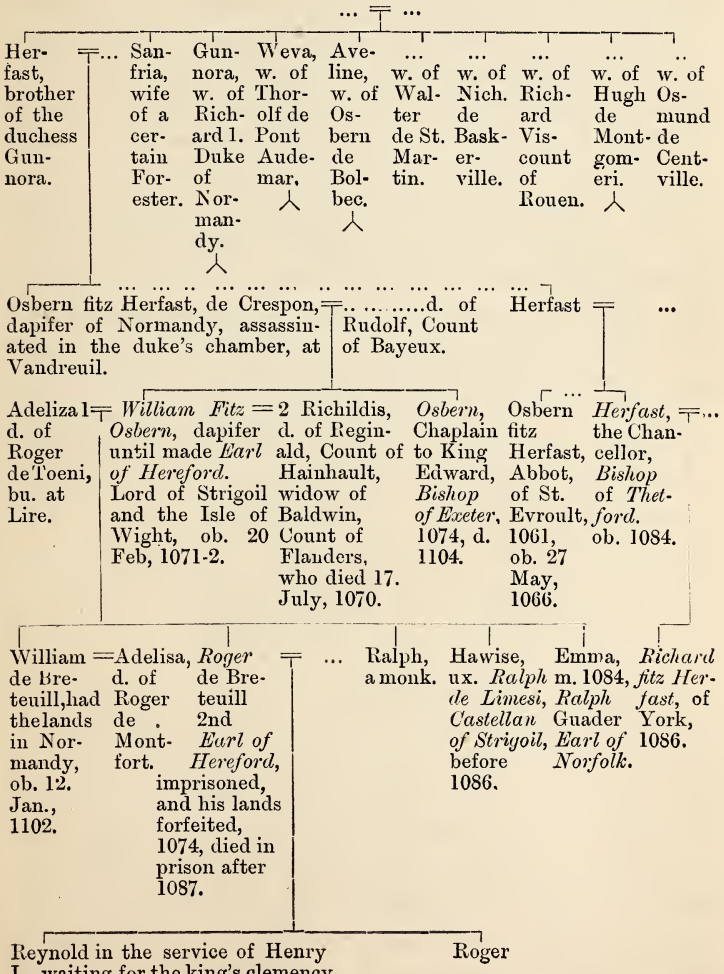
He seems to have taken no active part in welcoming the advent of the Normans, and it was not until after the death of his brother, Earl William, that Osbern was advanced by the king to the See of Exeter, as successor to Leofric, who died 10th February, 1073. William of Malmesbury, in his work, 'de Gestis Pontif. Angl., extolls Bishop Osbern for his good morals, his liberality, and primitive simplicity. He had adopted English manners in his mode of living, and in other things preferred the simple ways of his lord, King Edward, to the Norman love of pomp, and was content with the old fashioned buildings—meaning, probably, the old church and palace he found at Exeter.

When the Survey was taken he attended, in person, at Crediton, one of the great manors of the See, and produced his charters to prove that it belonged to the Church of St. Peter even before

[1] Bosham Church is represented in the Bayeux tapestry. Here, as early as 681, Wilfred found a small community of monks serving Our Lord in poverty and humility—Bede, IV., xiii.

King Edward reigned, and had been confirmed in the king's (William) time before all the king's barons.

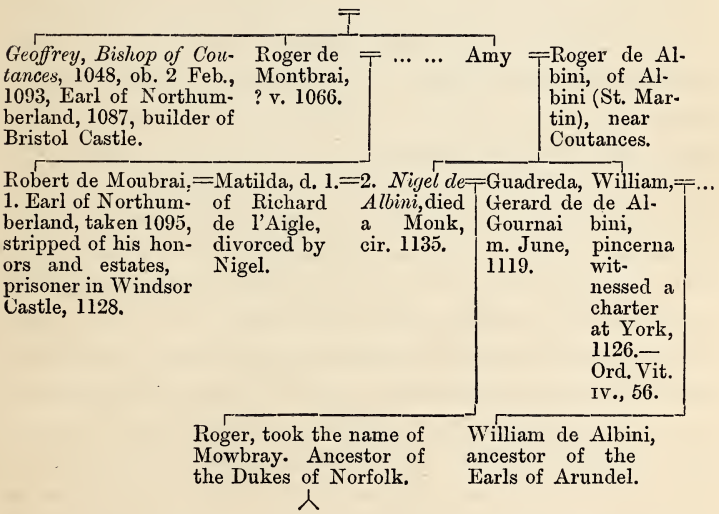
The venerable prelate survived the Conqueror and Rufus, but was too ill to attend the ecclesiastical synod held at Westminster at Michaelmas, 1102, and died two years after, having held the see thirty years, and was, probably, buried in his own cathedral church. He had lost his sight some years before he died.



VI.—EPISCOPVS CONSTANTIENSIS.

Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, in Normandy, was a member of a noble and powerful family and brother of Roger de Montbrai, Lord of Montbrai, in the canton of Perci. He is also once styled in the Survey Bishop of St. Lo, and, so designated, witnessed the king's charter to the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, 1070-5. St. Lo, it appears, had been the episcopal seat of his predecessor Robert, in whose time the cathedral of Coutances was begun to be rebuilt with the assistance of the Duchess Gunnora and the canons at St. Lo. Geoffrey, when a very young man, was nominated to the see, consecrated at Rouen, 10th April, 1048, and immediately set about collecting money and other things towards completing the cathedral, going to Apulia, even, to obtain the assistance of Count Robert Guiscard, who had been born at Hauteville, close by St. Lo. and also help from the other barons, his own cousins, settled in Apulia. However, in 1049, at the council of Rheims, his election to the see was alleged to have been obtained by simony, but he declared he knew not that it had been bought for him by his brother, and had been himself unwilling to assume the dignity. Bishop Geoffrey, having no residence in Coutances, bought half of the town for 300 livres, built himself a hall and offices, pushed on with the cathedral works, building the two western towers from the foundation, and the tower above the choir, so that on the 8th December, 1056, the church was consecrated with great ceremony, in the presence of Duke William, by Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, himself and others. The bishop then removed the canons back from St. Lo to the mother church, and took up his residence himself at Coutances. Coutances is a town said to have been founded by the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, or in his time, hence its name—and the saint Laud, or Lo, himself was bishop there in the seventh century. It is evident from this that Bishop Geoffrey was a man of great energy and resource, and we shall be the less surprised at the active part he afterwards took in the great events which the near future developed. When, therefore, the expedition was decided upon, he and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, accompanied it, attended by many

priests and monks, acting as chaplains and confessors. He appears to have been present in the battle, but took no active part in it, though, probably, belted with a sword and prepared to do so. When the Conqueror was crowned in Westminster Abbey, on Christmas Day, by Aldred, Archbishop of York, it was Bishop Geoffrey who demanded of the Normans present whether they consented to have William for their king. The bishop was back in Normandy next year, for he assisted at the consecration of the Abbey of Jumieges, on the 1st July, in the presence of the Conqueror. We next find him at Winchester, at Easter 1069, witnessing the king's charter granting Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, to the Abbey of St. Denis, near Paris.



It would seem that the bishop had already received grants of many manors in Somersetshire and other western counties, for this same year (1069), when the men of Dorset and Somerset and neighbouring counties arose and made an attack on the Count of Mortain's castle of Montacute, near Yeovil, the bishop, commanding troops from Winchester, London, and Salisbury, came upon them by surprise, slew some, mutilated the prisoners taken, and put the rest to flight. He probably thus prevented his own wide domains being harried and laid waste. The bishop had

developed a new side of his character, and Ordericus says he was more distinguished for military than clerical ability, better able to array armed soldiers for battle than to teach clerks the offices of the church, and, moreover, prided himself upon his noble birth. There is evidence that the Conqueror had great faith in him and his judgment by appointing him to decide the dispute between Archbishop Lanfranc and Bishop Odo, these powerful prelates having agreed to abide by the decision of one they mutually respected. The Archbishop charged Odo with invading the rights and having possession of lands of the See of Canterbury. The trial took place in the locality, at Penenden Heath, in Kent, lasted three days, and Geoffrey gave judgment in favour of Lanfranc. In 1076, Bishops Geoffrey and Odo, the king being in Normandy, led a force to attack the rebellious Earl of Norfolk at Cambridge, followed him in his retreat to Norwich, and took the castle there after a brave defence by the countess which kept them three months before the walls. He was one of the king's commissioners in 1080, sitting at Kentford, enquiring into the lands of the see of Ely, and was sent into Worcestershire to try, with Urso the sheriff, the cause between the bishop of that diocese and the Abbot of Evesham, about lands in Hampton and Beningworth, 'judicante et testificante omni vicecomititu.' In 1086, we find, by the Survey, the bishop in possession of lands in no less than twelve of the southern counties, in all, according to Ordericus, 280 vills. Of these more than eighty were in Somerset, about the same number in Devon, but in Gloucestershire nine only. Yet his influence was evidently great in the southern portion of the county on account of his holding Bristol Castle, and having the royal burgh thus in his power. Bristol was, there can be no doubt, his chief residence, but no particulars about the borough are given in the Survey, probably because it was already privileged by royal charter. Of the manor of Barton and Bristol the bishop had the third penny of the customary crown rents, and this is all the Survey informs us about Bristol, except that ten houses in the town appertained to the bishop's manor of Bishport, in Bedminster parish. The bishop can hardly be

called lord of Bristol, though he was certainly something more than port-reeve of the town and constable like Geoffrey de Mandeville was for London. Though the castle is not mentioned in the Survey, it was evidently this great builder who erected it, choosing for the site, with great judgment, that neck of land, the isthmus of the peninsula between the rivers Avon and Frome, on which the town stood. The only road into the town was cut off, and a new route made under the walls, completely commanded from them, and so depressed that it could be flooded with the castle meadows. The keep was built by Earl Robert, in the time of Henry I., but the bishop would have erected a hall within the fortified enclosure, and probably an oval shell keep on the site of which the quadrangular one was afterwards raised. Barton, near Bristol, seems to have been the farm which supplied the royal hall there in King Edward's time, and afterwards the castle, Old Market-street being the vill and market place of the Barton.

The Bishop kept none of his Gloucestershire manors in demesne. His vassals were Ilger, who held Acton, called Acton-Ilger from him to this day; Osulf, doubtless an Englishman, who held a manor in Hambrook; and one Goismer, who held another, apparently at the same place; Tetbald (Theobald) who held (Harry-)Stoke; Robert, who held manors in Dodington, Leigh, and (Gaunt's) Earthcott; perhaps Robert de Mowbray, the bishop's nephew and secular heir, the same at least who held Wormenhall, Bucks, and other important manors of him; Roger, who held another manor in Dodington; and Aldred, evidently another Englishman, who had lands in Wapley. All these, except Robert, appear to have been minor and local vassals of the bishop. He also obtained a grant of five carucates beyond the Wye, which a vassal held of him.

Bishop Geoffrey, being in Normandy at the time of the Conqueror's death, was one of those who attended his funeral in the Abbey of St. Stephen, at Caen. He is said to have been the king's almoner. With Bishop Odo, the Count of Mortain, and the majority of the great peers, we find him next year espousing the cause of Duke Robert against Rufus, and immediately after Easter, having garrisoned and provisioned his castles, he took

up arms. The bishop, though he must have been advanced in years, went with his nephew Robert, to Bristol, "where he had a very strong castle," laying waste all the country as far as Bath, which they burned, then marched across Somerset, plundering as they went, to Ilchester, to which they laid siege, but were repulsed. William de Eu, simultaneously ravaging the southern part of Gloucestershire, pillaged the royal vill of Berkeley. The bishop and his nephew brought their booty into Bristol Castle. There was, however, no unity of action among the rebels, or junction of their forces, and by Autumn Rufus was again master of the kingdom. The bishop and his nephew were among those who effected a reconciliation with the king, and we meet with the bishop attending the king's court at Old Sarum in the ensuing November. He was one of those present when the contumacious Bishop of Durham was exiled, and what he said on the occasion is recorded.[1] It will appear that at this time the bishop had the government of the turbulent earldom of Northumberland, no doubt by the late king's appointment, as successor to Alberic de Coucy.[1] He is so described as present with other magnates at the foundation, by Rufus, of St. Mary's Abbey, at York, at the end of the year. This post, which required a younger and more active man, he seems to have resigned, doubtless with the king's sanction, to his nephew and heir Robt. de Mowbray. We last meet with the venerable prelate at Dover, 27th Jan., 1090, witnessing, with many others who were attending the king, Rufus's charter "giving" Bath Abbey to the Somerset Bishop John. Bishop Geoffrey was probably on the eve of crossing the channel for the last time. For three more years he lived, and at length, in the presence, among others, of Bishop Odo, his old friend, he died, evidently at Coutances, on 2nd February, 1093, having governed his see forty-five years, less sixty-six days, and was buried, according to his own desire, not in the church, but in the ground adjoining.[2] Robert, Earl of Northumberland, his nephew and secular heir, succeeded,

[1] Mon. Angl. new ed., vol. I., p. 243.

[2] "In stillicidio" are the words used, which might be here translated "under the dripping eaves," or, possibly, the cloister garth, as representing, in some sense, the impluvium of the Roman domus. Gallia Christiana Vol. XI., col. 870. From that work this memoir of the bishop is mostly derived.

it is said, to all the bishop's lands; if so, he enjoyed them but two years, for in 1095 he forfeited, by rebellion, all his honors and estates, was himself taken and sent to Windsor Castle, where "nearly thirty-four years after," he was still lingering in captivity. Rufus, it is evident, then seized the late bishop's lands and conferred all those in these parts, with the great lordship of Tewkesbury, on one who had given him his active support :—Robert fitz Hamon, the nucleus of the Honour of Gloucester, constituted by Henry I. for his son Robert, when having married one of the daughters of Robert fitz Hamon, he was made Earl of Gloucester.[1]

VII.—ECCLESIA S. PETRI DE BADA.

The church of S. Peter, Bath, 'holds' five hides in Olveston, and five hides in (Cold) Aston, two at either place were exempt from Danegeld by grant of King Edward, confirmed by King William. The great manor of Tidenham, containing thirty hides, retained by the king, had belonged to the Abbot[2] of Bath in the reign of King Edward.

VIII.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE GLASTINGEBERIE.

The venerable Abbey of Glastonbury had a property of twenty hides in extent at Pucklechurch, where it had six vassals, apparently engaged in smelting, rendering (yearly) ninety pigs of iron (massas ferri), also two mills and a burgess-tenant in Gloucester. According to the monks, King Edmund (about 943) had given them *thirty* hides here when the famous Dunstan was abbot. It was here that the king himself was stabbed to death by Loifa on St. Augustine's mass day, 26th May, 946. His body was carried to Glastonbury, and there buried.

IX.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE MALMESBERIE.

Malmesbury Abbey had five hides in Littleton-on-Severn, where half the tax was remitted. There is a church and a priest here, information so seldom furnished by the Survey of the southern

[1] The family of St. Lo, or S. Laudo, was evidently descended from one of the vassals of the bishop, brought over by him from that place. The widow of Geoffrey de St. Laudo held a house in Winchester of the bishop of the See, 1148 (Winton Domesday).

[2] Not *Abbess* as in Bawdwen's translation of Domesday.

counties that the omission of any mention of a church is no proof that one had not existed at this date. The five hides here had been given by Uvenoth, with the consent of King Ethelred. William the Conqueror had confirmed their lands and privileges to the monks in 1081.

X.—ECCLESIA S. PETRI DE GLOWECESTRE.

The Abbey of St. Peter, at Gloucester, originally founded in 680 by Osrich, alderman of the Wiccii, was apparently retaining all its ancient possessions, except the fifteen hides in Standish which Archbishop Thomas was holding as successor of Archbishop Aldred, as mentioned in the account of that prelate. The great home estate of the abbey was Barton, Abbot's Barton as it is still called, twenty-one hides save a virgate. The abbey also possessed fifteen hides in Hinton, eleven in Aldsworth, ten in Buckland, seven in Highnam, five each in Frocester, in Boxwell, and in Churcham and Moreton, four each in Coln (St. Alwin) and Upleaden, two each in Preston and Ampney (St Peter). The last held of the abbot by the brother of Reinbald. They had many burgages in Gloucester, besides a (water) mill and four fisheries supplying the monk's table. They also had sixteen salmon from their tenants here. At Churcham or Morton in Westbury hundred, where the monks had a wood a square mile in extent, besides plain or open country, they had the right to take game in three 'haias' pens or deerfolds,[1] called 'freehay,' in after years, if not then, a franchise more liberal than 'free-warren,' but inferior to 'free chase.' All these possessions had belonged to the abbey in the days of Edward the Confessor, and as yet, with the solitary exception of the gift of five hides in Duntesbourn by the

[1] The 'hays' were pens or folds in the woods into which the wild animals of the chace, *i.e*, the deer, formerly a comprehensive term, were driven by dogs and hunters, with horns, to be there kept to be shot as required for food. Hunting in those days was more for necessity than mere sport. Hays were of various kinds and sizes. In Domesday we read of 'three hays for taking kids' of one half a league *square*. Near Leeds we have *Round*hay. There are many habitations for miles round Axminster, called hays and hayne, with a descriptive or personal prefix. On either side of White Staunton we find Northay and Southay; the latter is the origin of the name of a poet who came from that district.

widow of Walter de Laci for her husband's soul, no benefactions had been made to it by the Normans. On the death of Wulfstan, in 1072, Serlo, the first Norman abbot had been introduced. He was a monk of the Abbey of St. Michael on the Mount in Normandy, previously canon of Avranches, a man of great energy, who not only set about rebuilding the church, but, subsequently to the date of the Survey, was successful in recovering the abbey lands from the Archbishop of York and in obtaining many liberal gifts of churches, tithes, and lands from the Norman barons who had been previously, for the most part, benefitting various abbeys in Normandy and other parts of France.

XI.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE WINCELCV̄BE.

'The church of S. Mary of Winchcombe,' meaning the, even then, ancient abbey there, retained its great manor of 30 hides in Sherbourn, and, apparently, all its ancient possessions in this county, which, in King Edward's time, answered for 60 hides. The only tenant mentioned is Elsi de Ferendon, holding of the Abbot lands in Winrush which a certain Bolle had given to the abbey, apparently since the Inquest on which the Survey was founded. By some means, after Bolle's death, this manor had been, by mistake, accorded to Salmonesberie hundred instead of to Berniton, but this was set right.

XII.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE EVESHĀ.

The church of S. Mary of Evesham, an abbey founded in the seventh century, had peaceable possession of its lands in this county at least, though in Worcestershire the monks and their tenants were subject to the arbitrary conduct and exactions of the Norman sheriff, Urso. In Salmones(berie) hundred they hold Maugersbury, at Edwardstow (now Stow-on-the-Wold); there were eight hides there in King Edward's time, and a ninth belongs to the church of St. Edward (at Stowe). King Edward gave it thereto quit. They had four burgesses in Gloucester, and one in Winchcombe, holding of their manor of Broadwell. In the 'ferding' of Winchcombe, they *had* had no less than 56 hides.

XIII.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE ABENDONE.

The monks of Abingdon Abbey were keeping their lands in Dumbleton, having obtained a charter from the Conqueror confirming all their rights and possessions to them. They had an estate here of seven hides and a half, probably the same given by Wulfric Spott, in his will, to Archbishop Elfric, in the time of King Ethelred. The hide of land here belonging, at this date, to William Guizenboded he afterwards gave to the monks, and a half hide in the same place King Henry I. bestowed on them.

XIV.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ BE P'SORE.

Pershore Abbey had unmolested possession of its lands in Hawkesbury and Cowley in this county, though in Worcestershire the monks and their tenants were harrassed by the sheriff, Urso de Abitot.

XV.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE COVENTREV.

The monks of Coventry still held their ten hides in (Dry-) Marston, which their founder, Earl Leofric, had given them.

XVI.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE CORMEILLIS.

The church of S. Mary at Cormeilles, in Normandy, was a Benedictine Abbey founded by William fitz Osbern five or six years before the Conquest, when he could have had no idea of what the future had in store for him. Six hides in Newent that had never been taxed, being a portion of the Royal demesne, as mentioned under 'Terra Regis,' had been given to the monks by Earl Roger, the founder's son, for the good of his father's soul, with the consent of King William, as we learn from the Survey. This donation had, therefore, been made between the years 1072-4. Durand, the sheriff, was holding one hide of the abbot, two hays here the king has seized, and William fitz Baderon, one virgate. The monks of Cormeilles established a priory here in consequence of this gift. It appears the founder himself had given the churches and tithes in Beckford and Acton, with three virgates of land. William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, was buried at this abbey.

XVII.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE LIRE.

The abbey of St. Mary at Lire, on the Rille, near Breteuil, was another monastery founded by William fitz Osbern on his patrimony in Normandy. This owes its origin to him in 1046, when a young man, then only recently come into possession of his estates. The land in Gloucestershire held by this abbey, a hide and virgate in Duntesbourne, called Duntesbourne-Lyre to this day, had been given by Roger de Laci, therefore in the previous year, as his father only died in March. It appears the church tithes, and half a hide of land in Tidenham, had also been given to the abbey, but by whom is not clear, though, probably, by Ralph de Limesi.

The founder, himself, after he became Earl of Hereford and between 1070 and 1072, gave to the abbey, besides the church of Caresbroc and others in the isle of Wight, two burgages and a meadow at Gloucester, lands and tithes of certain places in the dioceses of Llandaff and Worcester, and half of all the tithe of the toll 'de Strigolio,' that, I suppose, levied on vessels passing up or down the Wye, mentioned in the Survey. This is the first time the old name of Chepstow occurs anywhere. But the priory there established by the monks, not of Lire but of Cormeilles, seems to have been in consequence of the gift by him of a quarter of the *tithes* to that abbey, mentioned in the Bull of Pope Alexander III.

XIX.—ECCLESIA S. PETRI DE WESTMONAST.'

Westminster Abbey we find left in peaceable possession of its great estate at Deerhurst, amounting to no less than sixty-nine hides, including four berwicks and many outlying portions. These last named were mostly held by the Normans with whose own lands they were intermixed. Girard, the chamberlain, 'holds' eight hides in Kemerton and three in Bodington, but without rendering service or paying the dues. All Abbot Baldwin seems to have retained was land in Kemerton and Turley. Reinbald, who 'holds' one hide in 'Almundeston,' now *Elm*ston, was, no doubt, the King's Chancellor, he who had witnessed King Edward's

charter by which Deorhyrst, with all that appertains to it, was given to the abbey in 1066.

XX.—ECCLESIA S. DYONISIJ PARISIJ.

The ancient abbey of St. Denys, near Paris, the burial place of the kings of France from the time of Dagobert[1], A.D. 580, was granted by William the Conqueror 'the church of Derhurst,' described as in the territory and county of the town of Gloucester. The royal charter is dated on the second day of Easter (*i.e.* Monday, 13th April), 1069, in the monastery of St. Swithin, at Winchester. Among the witnesses appears Robert, brother of Haimon the dapifer, one who in the next reign was to obtain a great grant of crown lands in this county, though he had not an acre therein at the date of the Survey. The church here given to St. Denys was that of the then ancient priory, which had existed in the days of the Venerable Bede, and partly survives. The church is not mentioned in the Survey but only the appendent lands, some 60 hides in various places, mostly in the hundred of Deerhurst, are specified. Two hides and a half were on the other side of the Severn. Two burgesses in Winchcombe, and no fewer than 30 in Gloucester, were tenants of this manor. The priory was re-established, apparently by Baldwin the monk of S. Denys to whom the grant was made, and it continued until the dissolution of alien priories by Henry V.

XXI.—ECCLESIA S. MARIÆ DE LANHEIE.

This was the church of St. Mary at Lambeth, holding four hides in Aston (sub-Edge) which the countess Goda had held in the time of King Edward. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and the Countess Goda, his wife, king Edward's sister, had given 'Lanchei' to the bishop and convent of Rochester, and these lands at Eston with it, probably, though not named. The bishop obtained from King William a confirmation of the grant of the church of St. Mary de Lamhythe to his church.

XXII.—ECCLESIA S. EBRVLFI.

The Abbey of St. Evroult, at Ouche, in Normandy, founded

[1] This name occurs once in the Survey, one Dagobert held a carucate in the King's demesne in the territory beyond the Wye.

by Hugh and Robert, sons of Robert de Grentmesnil in 1050, acquired, by gift of William the Conqueror, ten hides in Rawell, now Rowell, which had been held in the time of King Edward by Wluuard. This manor had never been taxed. Ordericus Vitalis, the most valuable historian of Norman times, was a monk of this abbey, and, naturally, gives very full particulars about the affairs of his house, and the share St. Evroult obtained, mostly by asserting her claims, from the king and Norman barons. In 1081 Abbot Mainer came over to England and obtained from the king, when the court was at Winchester (probably, as usual, celebrating Easter there), a ratification of the grants made by the lords who held under him, particularly Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, and the aged Hugh de Grentemesnil, one of the co-founders, and the king himself gave the vill called "Rawella, id est capreæ fons" (Goatswell), adds the charter, in Gloucestershire, also Nettleham, in Lincolnshire. The monks of St. Evroult retained possession of this manor until the reign of Edward I., when they exchanged it with the monks of Winchcomb for rents out of their estate in Drymarston and Admington. This same charter confirms the gift of Wilcot, made by Hugh de Grentmesnil, though no notice is taken of this fact in the Survey made four or five years afterwards.

XXIII.—ECCLESIA MONALIVM DE CADOMO.

The Abbey of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, holds three hides in Pinbury in Duntesbourne and eight in Hampton, the latter estate formerly belonged to the countess Goda. This was a monastery of nuns which Queen Matilda was engaged in founding and endowing, with her husband's concurrence, at the time of the Expedition, when he himself was also establishing an abbey, dedicated to St. Peter, for monks at the same place, both in expiation for their having contracted marriage within the prohibited degrees. The charter of the king, who joins the queen with him, giving these lands, is dated 1082, and a copy of it will be found in the cartulary of the abbey, now in the National Library at Paris (No. 5650, fo. 17). Hampton was afterwards, for distinction, called Minchinhampton, that is Nun-hampton. It appears that, though unnamed, Nailsworth, in Horsley parish, passed with this grant as parcel of Hampton.

XXIV.—ECCLESIA S. MARTINI DE TROARZ.

The Abbey of St. Martin, at 'Troarz,' holds Horsley of the gift of King William. It had belonged to Goda, sister of King Edward, and amounted to ten hides; a house in Gloucester appertained to this manor. Troarn, as an abbey of Benedictines, had been founded in 1050 by Roger de Montgomery, viscount of the Oximin, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury.

XXV.—ECCLESIA DE CIRECESTRE.

The College of St. Mary, at Cirencester, was holding of the king the two hides in alms which, free of all custom, it held of King Edward. Also three acres of meadow. These were the lands immediately adjoining the collegiate church, and seemingly all it possessed, except the prebends and the third penny of the new market in the town. Cirencester was a college for Prebendaries of unknown origin; but Reinbald, chancellor of King Edward (who follows), was, in his days, Dean, and still, apparently, remained so at the date of the Survey. As will be seen, William the Conqueror granted him a considerable estate, which was made the endowment of the abbey into which this foundation was subsequently converted by Henry I.

XXVI.—RENBALDVS PRESBYTER.

Reinbald, the priest, appears in the Survey as a tenant *in capite*, holding lands in Ampney, Driffield, Northcote, and Preston, which had belonged to Godric, or Elaf. These must have been acquired by grant to him, personally, from King William. He was, doubtless, the same Reinbald who held the church lands in the king's manor of Cheltenham, and the Reinbald, the dean of the collegiate church of Cirencester, although not mentioned in connection therewith in the Survey; he, therefore, was also the same who had been chancellor of King Edward, and the first to hold that title, or office, which that king is said to have introduced into this country from Normandy. He was, probably, one of the Norman favourites brought over by King Edward, and his official know-

ledge and experience must have been of immense value to the Conqueror, whom, without doubt, he welcomed.[1]

Reinbald, Dean of the College of Cirencester, Chancellor to Edward the Confessor, 1062-6, v. 1086.

... ... Vassal of the Abbot of Gloucester, 1086.

Elward, of Aldsworth, 1086.

In Leland's Itinerary, we read: "There was, afore the conquest, a faire and riche College of Prebendaries in this towne (Cirencester), but of what Saxon's foundation no man can telle . . . Rumbaldus, Chauncellar of King Edward the Confessor, was dean of this house, and buried in the body of the church, as it apperith by his Epitaphy on his Tumbe . . . .a sepulchre crosse of white marble (on which) is this—"Hic jacet Rembaldus presbyter, quondam hujus ecclesiae decanus et tempore Edwardi Regis Angliae cancellarius" (Vol. v. 62). He is once mentioned as Chancellor in the Survey (fol. 180 b.):—The king holds Edresfelle, 'Reinbald canceler' held it in the time of King Edward, Earl William had it from Reinbald by an exchange.

Reinbald, or Regenbald, frequently occurs signing as king's chancellor charters of King Edward,[2] two of which expressly state that they were 'sealed' by him, that is, with the king's great seal; one of these was the Westminster Abbey Charter, executed there on the 5th kalends of January, 1066, which Swithgar, the notary, or scribe, had written out under his supervision.[3] He first occurs as chancellor in 1062, but how long before he held this office does not exactly appear, though it is evidently he who subscribes the Abingdon charters of 1050 and 1054, as "Regnboldus," or Ræinbaldus—*presbyter*. It is more than probable that Elward, son of Reinbald, who occurs among the king's Thanes in Gloucestershire as grantee of the lands of Balchi, in Aldsworth, was the chancellor's son.

[1] Collinson, quoting apparently, "Annales Abb. of Bec. MSS." states that Reinbald had an estate, near Rouen, called *from him* "Reinberville" (Hist. Som. II., 191.); this is not probable.

[2] Kemble's Codex. Dipl. Vol. IV., pp. 121, 135, 148, 159, 189.

[3] Mon. Angl. I., p. 52.

'A brother of Reinbald' was holding at the date of the Survey, the lands of Gloucester Abbey in Ampney, viz.: two hides (Ampney St. Peter). In Ampney (St. Mary), Reinbald himself held four hides and a virgate by gift of William, which, after Reinbald's death, were transferred to the Abbey of *St. Mary*, at Cirencester.

Reinbald, the priest, appears to have continued Dean of the Collegiate Church of Cirencester up to his death. When that occurred is not distinctly recorded, but Henry I. afterwards replaced the canons by Bendictine monks, converting the college into an abbey dedicated to St. Mary, and endowing it with 'the lands of Reinbald, the priest,' as the royal charter expressly states.

Reinbald, of Cirencestre, holds two manors in Berks, one had been his in King Edward's time. We further learn from the Survey that one Reinbald held the Church of Frome, in Somerset, with eight carucates of land, and one hide of land at Boycot, in Oxfordshire. At Boveney, in Bucks, Reinbald held one hide of the king belonging to the church of 'Cocheham,' which he had held in alms of King Edward. In all probability all these entries refer to Reinbald, the 'priest,' but he is not so styled in these several instances.

XXVII.—COMES ROGERIVS.

This was Roger de Montgomeri, Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, one of the chief feudatories of the realm, but all earl Roger had in this county was a manor of five hides in (Meysey-) Hampton, held of him by Torold nepos Wigod, (the nephew or grandson of Wigod). It will not be necessary to give here a sketch of the life of this potent earl. He had little to do with this county, and he is a well known historical personage. Many particulars about him may be found in the graphic pages of Ordericus Vitalis, himself a native of Shropshire and son of one of the earl's feudal tenants. Roger, who was viscount of the Oximin, was not at Hastings, being one of those who, by the duke's solicitation, remained in charge of the duchy during the expedition. He was, however, soon sent for, no doubt on account of his administrative experience as a viscount,

and made warder or marcher of the mid-march of Wales, having on his right hand, north of him, the Earl of Chester, and on his left hand, south of him, William fitz Osbern, the Earl of Hereford. Each of them found it necessary to develop a 'scientific frontier,' and drive a wedge of outposts into Wales, and earl Roger secured the point of his by erecting the castle, which still goes by the name he gave it, that of his seigneury in Normandy, viz., Montgomeri. He had with the castle of Arundel so large a share of Sussex that he had the power of an earl in that county, though there is no proof that he had the office. He founded an abbey at Shrewsbury, and survived the Conqueror six years, dying at Shrewsbury, 27th July, 1094. The earl's first wife had been the heiress of Alençon, and so great and unmanageable an inheritance in France and England could not well be kept together in the hands of any one, so the earl's eldest son, Robert, had the county of Alençon, and Hugh, the second son, the earldom of Shrewsbury and the lands in England. Count Robert died without issue, and Alençon devolved on Hugh, making him too powerful to be a loyal subject either to the King of England or the King of France. Henry I. was greatly relieved when he was able to banish him the realm for ever and sieze his lands. This placed the five hides in Hampton at the redisposal of the king.

XXVIII.—COMES HVGO.

Hugh, Earl of Chester, had more lands in Gloucestershire than his potent neighbour of Shrewsbury, viz., fifteen hides in Campden, an estate of '*Earl*' Harold. He also had Bisley, eight hides held of him by one Robert, no doubt Robert de Tilleul, his cousin, who had been in England before the Conquest in the service of King Edward, and was afterwards captain of the Earl's troops, and, as such, actively engaged in North Wales, getting the name of 'de Rhudllan' from the castle founded there. Bisley seems to have been a populous place, there were five (water) mills and eleven burgesses in Gloucester held of the manor. The earl himself reserved one hide in Trougham, parcel of Bisley, also half a hide there which Roger de Laci claims, on the finding of the county jury, as appertaining to his manor of Edgeworth. Earl

Hugh also had in Langtree hundred, besides Lewin's lands, Weston and another manor, part of the estate of Elnod, or Ealdnoth, the staller, most of whose lands in other counties he also obtained.

There is nothing to record of Earl Hugh in connection with this county except his gift, in 1093, of two carucates and the tithes of Campden to St. Werburgh's Abbey, at Chester.

Hugh was the only son of Richard 'Goz' viscount of the Avranchin, in Normandy, by Emmeline, daughter of Herlewine de Conteville by Herleva, the mother of the Conqueror, who was therefore his half-blood uncle as well as kinsman on the paternal side. His father appears to have been at Hastings, and was surviving in 1084, but preferred to remain in Normandy. Hugh, it seems, was one of those brought over by the Conqueror in 1067, and being young, brave, vigorous, and trustworthy, was actively employed in the reduction of the kingdom and in the northern campaign, receiving a great many of Earl Harold's lordships in various counties, the lands of Ealdnoth and others. But it was not until 1070, after the departure of Earl Gherbod, that the whole county of Chester with palatine rights, was conferred on him for the defence of the northern third of the Welsh March. He penetrated into Wales, and built castles at Rhuddlan and Diganwy, and was long vigilant of the restive Welsh. They knew him as Hugh 'Vras,' or the fat, as he became in after years from gluttony. Hugh of Shrewsbury being known to them as "Goch' or the red—these two marchers, in concert, ravaged Anglesey in 1097. To the Normans he was known as 'le loup,' probably from his ensign, and Ordericus has described him as rapacious, though prodigal, as keeping an army of personal and armed retainers, and being ardently fond of sports, encouraged those who attended him in hawking and hunting more than learned clerks or those who farmed his lands. He was in Normandy in 1091 and 1097 taking an active part and command in the affairs of the duchy.

He refounded the Abbey of St. Werburgh at Chester, and that of S. Sever, in the diocese of Coutances, and was a liberal

benefactor to Bec. He was at Chester when his last illness seized him, and taking to his bed at length was removed into St. Werburgh's Abbey, where, three days after assuming the cowl, he died 27th July, 1101, having been earl thirty-one years. He left by Ermentrude, his wife, daughter of Hugh, Count of Clermont, a son aged seven, his only legitimate child:—Richard, the second earl, drowned in 1120, with the Crown Prince and many other nobles. Henry I., therefore, confirmed the earldom and estates to one of his next heirs, Rannulph 'le meschin' (mesquin), son of Hugh's sister Matilda by Rannulph, viscount of the Bessin. Whether the lands in Gloucester went with the rest is not clear, for Rannulf, the fourth earl, son of the last named, it appears from a charter (No. 15) in the Duchy of Lancaster archives, had Campden in marriage with Matilda, daughter of Earl Robert of Gloucester. No. 66 in the same collection is a letter from this earl to Richard de Venn and the other vavasours of Biseleia, ordering them to give their services to Milo the constable.

XXIX.—COMES MORITONIENSIS.

Robert, Count of Mortain, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, were the sons of the Conqueror's mother Herleva by her husband Herlewine de Conteville. They were, apparently, the only two on familiar and equal terms with the duke who accompanied him in the Expedition, as represented in the Bayeux tapestry they sit on either side of him when at their repast soon after the landing, then the three hold council together and afterwards we see Robert directing an entrenchment to be made. It is said he brought with him the holy banner from the Abbey of St. Michael of the Mount. Count Robert was a man of no decided character and he makes no figure in subsequent history. His rapacity is the only trait that is evident. He obtains some nine hundred manors, a much greater share than any one, beginning with Pevensey, where they had landed, and where, twenty-two years after, both he and Odo probably sailed away, banished with ignominy by their nephew Rufus. Bishop Odo got the county of Kent. Count Robert got Cornwall entire, except two manors, the Royal demesne and the lands belonging to the Church. He

built the castles of Dunheved (Launceston) and Trematon; and Montacute, in Somersetshire. The last had previously belonged to Tovi, or Tofig, the proud. All the count ever had in Gloucestershire were the two hides in Langborough which had belonged to Tovi in King Edward's time. He died in 1090, and his son, Count William, having been taken prisoner by Henry I. at the battle of Tinchebrai, 28th September, 1106, was stript of his honors and estates and confined in the Tower of London for the rest of life.

XXX.—GILBERTVS EPISCOPVS LISIACENSIS.

Gilbert 'Maminot,' Bishop of Lisieux, the king's own physician, and one of his chaplains, made bishop of that see in 1077. He was a man devoted to science, which in his day included Astrology and Alchemy; still it is evident he was in advance of his time. The king had great faith in Gilbert, who was with him when he died. Ordericus, who knew him, and was ordained sub-deacon by him, does not give a very flattering account of him as an ecclesiastic. He was too worldly, fond of hunting and hawking, games of chance and hazard, and, being very wealthy, gave himself up to luxuries and ostentation. On the other hand, in his judgments he keenly investigated the truth, was indefatigable in defending the right but merciful to offenders. He was the son of a brave knight named Robert de Courbépine, a place so called from a crooked thorne near Bernai. The bishop governed the see twenty-four years and died at an advanced age in August, 1101.

The bishop was granted by the Conqueror a personal estate in England, namely manors in Dorset, Bucks, and Gloucestershire. In this county he had manors in Rodmarton, Lasborough, and Sodbury, in all twelve hides, and held of him by Hugh Maminot, probably his nephew, son of Ralph de Courbépine, vassal of Bishop Odo, in Kent, and brother of Gilbert Maminot, also mentioned in the Survey. Hugh, how-

Robert de Courbépine
- *Gilbert Maminot*, Bishop of Lisieux, 1077, the King's physician, ob. Aug., 1101.
- Ralph de Courbépine, 1086.
  - *Gilbert Maminot* of Deptford
    - Walkeline Maminot, 1138.
  - *Hugh Maminot*, 1087
    - Alice ux Ralph de Cahagnes.

ever, seems to have succeeded to the bishop's fief, as his secular heir, and left a daughter Alice, wife of Ralph de Cahagnes, buried at Merton.

XXXI.—WILLELMVS DE OW.

This William 'de Ow,' or Eu, we find in possession of the extensive estates that had belonged to Alestan de Boscumbe, a great thane of King Edward the Confessor's days. The Survey is nearly always careful to distinguish his predecessor from others of the same name by calling him 'of Boscumbe,' that place in Wiltshire, where we may presume he had chiefly resided. Boscumbe, and some other neighbouring manors, fell to William with the rest of Alestan's lands, which lay in Dorset, Somerset, and even Hertfordshire, besides in this county. Among William's Wiltshire tenants occurs William de Aldrie, holding Littleton and other manors of him, who will be again mentioned. William de Eu, it is very clear from the Survey, had not been the original grantee of the lands of Alestan, but had succeeded Ralph de Limesi in these as in others, as will be shown. The Survey particularly records that a small estate in Culkerton, in Gloucestershire, that he held was formerly Ralph's, "though not Alestan's" previously. We read also that an estate he had in Critchell, in Dorset, had come to him from his mother, who, it appears by the previously Gheld inquest of 1084, was then holding it. This had been Alestan's land also, but how William's mother came into possession of it is not clear if she were the Countess Beatrice, sister of Roger de Busli, and wife of Robert, Count of Eu. There is no absolute proof of the identity of William de Eu with the count's second

William, Count of Eu, natural son of Richard I., Duke of Normandy. = Lesceline, d. of ... ... founded the Abbey of S. Pierre, sur. Dive, 1078.

William, Count of Soisson.

Hugh, Bishop of Lisieux, 1050, ob. 17 July, 1077.

Robert, Count of Eu, 1054, 1086 = Beatrix ... ... = ... de Aldreio

Ralph, 1054.

William de 'Eu,' 1054, 1086, Count of Eu, the king's cousin, ob. Jan., 1096 = (Helisendis) d. of Hugh Earl of Chester. Robert, 1054.

William de Aldreio, 1086, ob. Jan., 1086. = ... d. and co-heir of Rob. le Blunt, 1086

son of that name, although he was certainly the count's heir and successor. He might have been a grandson, and this his widowed mother; for there are instances in the Survey of married women holding property by grant as a separate estate. Was his mother Hawise, daughter of Earl William, wife of Ralph de Limesi, who held Striguil, being William's predecessor merely as her second husband, and guardian of her son and heir by a former one? There is no doubt that in 1074 Ralph de Limesi forfeited Striguil and the lands of Alestan, through complicity in the rebellion of his brother-in-law Earl Roger, though it appears he managed to retain other estates in Hertfordshire, and elsewhere.

In Gloucestershire, William de Eu held 33 hides and-a-half of land formerly Alestan's, in Stonehouse, Badgeworth, Duntesbourne, and other places: besides a virgate and-a-half of land in Tidenham which had been Archbishop's Stigand's, and the land in Culkerton before mentioned. Three hides which he held in Aluredston, now Alliston, were, it seems, claimed by Henry de Ferieres, 'though Ralph de Limesi was William's predecessor' here as the commissioners learned.

William *held* 'Wigheiete,' Ralph de Limesi before him, and Alestan in King Edward's time. There is 'now' nothing but a fishery, for, by the King's command, it was included in his forest (of Dean.) In the Survey of those lands beyond the Wye and as far as the Usk, which Earl William had gained from the Welsh and partly allotted, by carucates, to his followers and others for defence of the border, the earl built the Castle of Striguil (Chepstow) as the caput of his march barony. The vill under its walls paid 16*l.* in the time of Earl Roger, the son, and Ralph de Limesi *had* a moiety of this. Further on we read that William de Ow has from Striguil 9*l.* for the customary rents, as he says. But Girard and the other vassals declare that, justly, he should have no more of them than 10*l.* from the custom of Striguil, although it should be rated at 100*l.* *In Wales* he has in fee three fisheries in the Wye paying 70s. These must have been salmon fisheries higher up the river, beyond the border. Another has been mentioned above. In the same fief Earl William gave to Ralph de Limesi 50 carucates

of land, of the Norman measure, as Hugh and others testify. However, William de Ow says that he ought to have only 32 carucates. It is evident from this that William de Eu was now holding of the crown the great barony, or honor, of Striguil, which Ralph de Limesi had from Earl William and had held under him and his son Earl Roger until the rebellion of 1074, when Ralph, being Earl Roger's brother-in-law, and no doubt concerned in this business, which began at the prohibited marriage of his wife's sister with Ralph the Earl of the East Angles, fell under escheat, and Striguil and the Alands of lestan de Boscumbe were then granted to William de Eu, or passed to him in the way before suggested. If, as grantee, he must have been in great favour with the king, or it may have been in reward for important services against the rebels. William was, apparently, the second of the three sons of Robert, Count of Eu, the king's cousin, who, we find, by the Survey, in possession of a great estate in various southern counties, but chiefly in Sussex. Whether Ralph, his elder brother, was dead at this date does not appear, but William, as we shall see, succeeded his father. William first occurs in 1054, when Robert, Count of Eu, founded an abbey at Tréport, Beatrix, his wife, and his sons, Ralph, *William*, and Robert, being consenting parties. Beatrix, who was, no doubt, his mother, was, it seems, sister of Roger de Busli who gave Clifford to Gloucester Abbey, Children sometimes witnessed charters, and William was, at this date, probably no more than a youth. We next hear of William of Eu, in 1088, the year after the king's death, as one of those who determined that Normandy and England ought to be still under one sovereign, and upheld Duke Robert's cause. The old Count of Eu was still alive, but William was expecting to succeed him both in Normandy and England, which would give him two sovereign lords, and which did to his destruction. When Bishop Godfrey and his nephew, Robert de Mowbray, sallied out of Bristol Castle and marched into Wiltshire, sacking the king's town of Bath on their way, William of Eu, evidently in concert, "made an irruption into Gloucestershire, and, having plundered the royal vill of Berkeley, committed great ravages through the

country with fire and sword,"[1] on his way, probably, to join the bishop. Dearly he paid for this in the end. Two years after Count Robert died, and next year (1091) Duke Robert resigned the county of Eu to King William in their treaty of peace, which also stipulated that "all who had lost their lands in England on account of the duke were to have them back."[2] How this affected William is not recorded, whether he was allowed the title or to succeed to his immense inheritance. He, however, is called Count of Eu by Florence of Worcester, who says, in 1093, "won over by his greediness of lucre, and attracted by the promises of vast domains, he deserted his natural lord, Robert, Duke of Normandy, to whom he had sworn fealty, and coming to King William, in England, transferred his allegiance to that powerful seducer."[3] The vast domains promised were of course his father's lands, a much greater inheritance than his estates in Normandy. The king had also won over Robert de Mowbray, and had given him the Earldom of Northumberland, yet, in 1095, the earl revolted, and William of Eu, with many others, rose with him to set up Stephen of Albemarle. This rebellion proved abortive, and the tragic fate which befell the Count of Eu is recorded with varying details by all the chroniclers. He seems to have been taken prisoner, and during the octaves of the Epiphany, in the ensuing January, the king and court being at Salisbury (*i.e.* old Sarum), Geoffrey Bainard (of London) accused William of Eu of being concerned in the late conspiracy against the king, "his own relative," and thereupon defied him to single combat. William fell, vanquished by his antagonist, and this alone being proof of his guilt in those days, the king at once commanded that his eyes should be put out, and also that he should be otherwise treated with inhuman indignity at the instance of Hugh, Earl of Chester, whose sister (Helisendis) he had married and been unfaithful to. The king also condemned, as privy to his treason, his steward, William de Alderi, the son of his aunt by the mother's side, to be hanged upon a cross.[4] Old Sarum, the scene of all this, sur-

[1] Chron. Flor. Wig. [2] Anglo-Sax. Chron. [3] Chron. Flor Wig.

[4] William of Malmsbury (§319), who considered him one of those honourable men then falsely accused of treachery, adds that he had stood

rounded by awful shadow-holding gloomy ditches of enormous depth, is still one of the most impressive historic sites in England.

It was probably Henry I. who restored to the heir of William de Eu the county of Eu and the lands of Count Robert, but the honor of Striguil, which involved all the lands William held in 1086, was an escheat, and was, apparently, granted to Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare, but whether by Rufus, or, as is more probable, by Henry I. is not clear. Tickenham, in Somersetshire, had belonged to William de Eu, and it continued to be held of the honor by a service which may have been instituted by him or by William fitz Osbern, namely, keeping the gate of Striguil Castle for forty days in time of war.

XXXII.—WILLELMVS FILIVS BADERON.

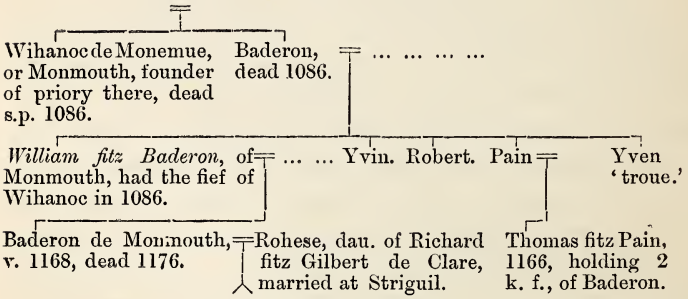
William fitz Baderon seems to have been a young Breton who had, at the time of the Survey, only recently come into possession, by inheritance, of the estates we find him holding. However, it is only in one instance in Domesday Book that this is hinted. In Westbury hundred in this county, where it does not more exactly appear, but probably at Stairs, William "holds" two virgates and a half of land, &c., which *Wihanoc his predecessor* held, but the county jury affirms this land to be of the demesne farm of the King in Westbury. The Wihanoc here mentioned, it can be shown, was William's uncle, but whether he directly succeeded him, or whether Baderon, his father, intervened, cannot be decided.

Wihanoc was the grantee of Monmouth, and either built or strengthened the castle there, and, when firmly seated, founded, as was usual with the great barons, a church with an establishment

co-sponsor with the king, and was a man of handsome presence. After being scourged in *every* church in the town he was hanged, meeting death piously and courageously.

William de Aldreio held lands of William de Eu, in Wilts and Dorset. If the countess Beatrix were William de Eu's mother, then another sister of Roger de Busli was mother of William de Aldreio. The two sons-in-law of Robert le Blund ('Flavus') held lands of him in West Lavington, Wilts. Their names are given in the Exon Domesday as William de *Aldelia* and Robert de Albemarle. Audrieu, between Bayeux and Caen, was the seat of an ancient barony. An old chateau still exists.

of monks within, or adjoining, the castle walls. The church he built in Monmouth castle he gave to the famous Abbey of St. Florent, at Saumur on the Loire, whence monks came at his request to serve here, and he endowed them with lands in the neighbourhood, and with, among others, the churches of Huntley, Tiberton, Westhope, and Eililde-hope, in Gloucestershire, places which we find in 1086 in possession of his nephew and heir. The founder styles himself in his charter "Wihenocus de Monemue," and as only the health of his own soul and his parents were to be prayed for, it is evident he was unmarried. 'Baderon, my brother,' *William*, 'Yvin, Robert, Pain, and Ywen Troue,' sons of Baderon, witnessed this document (Mon. Angl. I., p. 600). Wihenoc had died without issue before 1086.



With Monmouth Castle, the Survey records (fo. 180. b.), William fitz Baderon has the custody of four carucates of the king's demesne, eight carucates he holds himself, and his knights seven others. St. Florent of Salmur holds the church, all the tithes and two carucates of land. Twenty-four carucates the Welsh have. This is given in the Survey under the heading of Herefordshire, and in that county, proper, William held nine manors, besides being a tenant on 'Terra Regis.'

In Gloucestershire, William fitz Baderon was holding at the time of the Survey, lands in Cirencester, Duntesbourne, Siddington, Weston (Birt-), Tiberton, Huntley, Hope, and other lands in Westbury hundred; also Lidney with a mill, and a moiety of a fishery in the Wye. Three hides in Hiwoldstone, now (Hewelsfield), were included in the Forest (of Dean) by the King's command.

The lands in Huntley had in Edward the Confessor's time been held of Aldred, the Archbishop (of York), by a certain Ulfelm. William, it appears, had also land at Hampen, the record of which, by accident, was placed in Domesday Book under the heading of William the Chamberlain.

William Baderen (sic.) had two houses in the town of Gloucester, paying thirty pence tax (? gable.) as well as the royal custom. William fitz Baderon was tenant of Blideslow, a detached member of the royal manor of Awre, which Aluuin the Sheriff had put out to farm. It was at this place the men of the hundred, in which, evidently, Awre itself was, met, as the hundred was known by this name. The name of "Will. fil. Badder." occurs in the return of those who had tenants in Gloucester between 1097 and 1101. This is the last notice I find of him. Baderon fitz William, who was evidently his son and successor, quit-claimed to the monks of Gloucester land between Morton and Tiberton, namely at Churcham, about which they had some dispute.

Baderon de Monmouth, as he styles himself, mentions in a charter his marriage (to Rohais de Clare) in the presence of several of the de Clare family at Striguil (Chepstow) no doubt in the priory church there. (Mon. Angl., new ed., IV., p. 597.)

In exchange for Hodenoc, Baderon de Monmouth gave the monks of Monmouth 3 (iron.) forges in his town of M. on the river Wye. He was living in 1166, when he declares his barony of 10 knights' fees of the old feoffment, none of the new. He says he had given a knights' fee to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem on his wife's death for her soul. (Liber Niger I., p. 153). The estates remained in possession of the heirs male of this family for three more generations.

[1] I have not been successful in finding any evidence of this family before they left Brittany. There was a contemporary there, Baderon son of Caradoc, who occurs as witness to a grant to the Abbey of St. Florent (Lobineau's Hist. Brit. 1., 511). Wihenoc was a much commoner name. Dru de Baladun, lord of Abergavenny, had a son so called; possibly his wife was a sister of his neighbour at Monmouth.

It is remarkable that we should find at Blideslow, in the parish of Awre, where William fitz Baderon had lands, a family named 'Badern' holding an estate there two hundred years later. Philip Badern 6. Edw. I. Robert Badern held a tenement in Awre as late as the reign of Henry IV.

XXXIII.—WILLELMVS CAMERARIVS.

William the Chamberlain, holds three hides in Wincot in this county, and, if the same person be meant, two hides in Hartwell, Bucks, which a certain Robert holds of him; and a manor and other lands[1] in Bedfordshire. He was, probably, a court official like Humfrey, q.v. This was, perhaps, one of those feudal tenancies afterwards subordinated to the earldom of Gloucester. We find in 1166 a William Chamberlain, of London, then holding of the old feoffment one knight's fee of the earl. And this William the Chamberlain, himself, in 1086 paid 6s. a year to the King's sheriff of Middlesex for the land, apparently in Holborn, where his vineyard was situate. The chamberlainship had, probably, been a heritable office attached to his lands.

XXXIV.—WILLELMVS GOIZENBODED.

William Goizenboded held fourteen manors in this county, and one in Worcestershire (177b.) Of these eight had belonged to Alwine, the sheriff, in the time of King Edward, and it is said of ten hides in (Lower) Guiting, that this land king Edward held but permitted Alwin, his sheriff, to hold for life, but not as a gift, as the county jury testify. On Alwin's death King William bestowed his widow and lands on a certain young man named Richard. William was the successor of Richard, but the Survey does not say how, whether by grant or inheritance as heir, or even son of Richard. If, however, as son of Richard, Alwin's widow could not have been his mother, as he would not have been of age in 1086. Land in Westbury hundred, which has been identified as Dunny in Minsterworth, on what authority does not appear, Alwin, it is stated, had given to his wife.

William also acquired the manors of two thanes in Pebworth, and another manor at 'Weniton' (now an unknown place), which Earl Algar had added to Pebworth. He had the lands of a certain huscarle in Clopton, ten hides:—and another property of the same extent at a place called 'Bristenton' in Witelai hundred. Most of his lands he kept in his own tenure, but

[1] "Totenhou," which Bishop Odo had taken away from him, and given to Adulph, his own Chamberlain, but William recovered it before 1086.

one Rannaulf held of him land in Caldicot; Ralph, two hides in (Little) Barrington; and Goisfrid, *Farmcot*, in the Survey 'Ferncote.' Two burgesses in the town of Winchcombe, held of the manor of Guiting, and one of that of Clopton. Consequently we find in the Return made between 1097–1101 (ante, p. 93), the name of 'Will. Guiz en bod' (sic.) in the list of those who had burgess-tenants in that then important borough.

He had a hide of land in Dumbleton which had belonged to a certain Sauuin, perhaps Sewin the port-reeve of Bristol; this, it appears by the History of Abingdon Abbey, was in the 8th of Henry I. (Aug. 1107—Aug. 1108) given by William 'Guizenboeth' himself, in the Chapter House, to Abbot Farice and the monks, with the consent of Robert, Count of Mellent, of whose fief he then held it Moreover, requested by William, the count confirmed it to the monks by charter, and, in the presence of the count and the witnesses to the charter, William made the gift as for himself, his son, and his wife. He was, therefore, living at this date, with a wife and son, but this is the last I can trace of him or his family.

XXXV.—WILLELMVS FILIVS WIDONIS.

William fitz Guy was holding in 1086 seven hides in Dyrham, formerly the land of Aluric. He also had held three hides of this manor which Durand the sheriff had given to the Abbey of St. Mary, at Pershore, by the king's command. These, it appears, had previously been given by Earl William to Turstin fitz Rou.

In Somersetshire, William had two manors in Horsington, which he kept in his own hands, and lands in West Cheriton, which Bernard (Pancevolt) held of him.

XXXVI.—WILLELMVS FROISSELEW.

William, surnamed 'Froisselew,' was holding of the king the lands of Godric in Wotton, near Gloucester, and 'Litenton' (qu. Littleton) in Gretestan hundred, also half a hide of land, which had been Brictric's, in Condicot. The name of "W. de Froisselupu" occurs in the list of those who had burgess-tenants in the borough of Winchcombe (1097—1101), (ante, p. 93) so he was certainly living at the former date, but nothing further about

him has been discovered. The derivation of the epithet he was known by as a surname, is more apparent from the way it is spelt in the latter instance. It had probably been acquired by his killing a wolf with a blow. Froissart, the surname of the well known chronicler, means 'bruiser.' One reads in an old French romance of a knight known as "le froissart des heaumes."

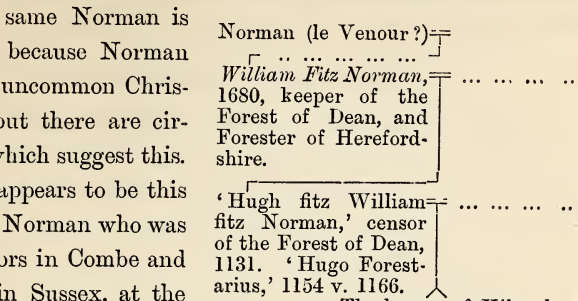
XXXVII.—WILLELMVS FILIVS NORMAN.

William fitz Norman appears to have been keeper of the king's Forest of Dene at the date of the Survey, for we read that he held the lands in Dene (Michel-), or Magna Dene, of three thanes, Godric, Elric, and Ernui, who seem to have held them of King Edward by his grant, tax free, for keeping the forest. The same condition under which William now kept them, evidently, as they are not rated. William had lands in (Little) Tainton, of which one virgate lay in the forest. Besides this he had manors in Morcote, Bicanofre (English-Bicknor), and in Blideslaw hundred.

We find that the forests of the neighbouring county of Hereford were also farmed by William fitz Norman, he paying £15 per annum. There he held Kilpeck in Erchenfield, and some other manors. Kilpec, if not his, was the chief seat of his descendants, and here a castle was built. It appears those who were keepers of forests, or foresters, were also the chief huntsmen or venours, masters of the hounds and horses of the chace. The heirs of Waleran 'Venator' of Domesday had charge, and accounted for the farm of the New Forest in Hants. The heirs of William fitz Norman were farmers of the Forest of Dene. They trained themselves for the office by which they had to hold their lands. It may be remarked here, in passing, that one of the descendants of Waleran married one of the co-heirs of the Barons of Kilpeck.

It seems exceedingly probable that the father of William was *he* whose name occurs in the Survey under Shropshire, simply as Normannus, and who witnesses a charter of Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, as "Normannus *Venator*," with Rogerius Venator, his brother.

Whether Hugh fitz Norman, one of the barons of the Earl of Chester, and his brothers Ralph the dapifer, and Roger were other sons of the same Norman is not certain, because Norman was not an uncommon Christian name, but there are circumstances which suggest this. However, it appears to be this William fitz Norman who was holding manors in Combe and Applesham, in Sussex, at the date of the Survey. I have found nothing more about William than that he left a son and heir, Hugh fitz William fitz Norman, who was living in 1131, for his name occurs in the Pipe Roll for Gloucestershire as the 'Censor' of the Forest of Dene. He was the ancestor of the barons of Kilpec, and, himself, or one of his immediate successors, built the remarkable Romanesque church there, probably himself, for it was he who in 1134, gave St. David's church there, the chapel of the Virgin in the castle, and all his churches and chapels with their tithes to the monks of Gloucester. A priory or cell was established at Kilpec in consequence of this munificent donation.



Hugh, occurs in 1154, as "Hugo Forestarius," as one of the sureties of Roger, Earl of Hereford, in his sworn alliance of amity with William, Earl of Gloucester, and he was surviving in 1168, styling himself in his return, "Hugo filius Willelmi Forestarii de Herefordscire in Wallia." The lands in Little Tainton were held of the king by the service of guarding a hay, or enclosure for deer, at Hereford.

XXXVIII.—WILLELMVS LEVRIC.

William 'Leuric' had the lands of Osgot, in Gloucestershire, namely Hayles, with manors in Leckhampton, Whittington, Shipton(-Moyne), and Turkdean, the two last held of him by one Goisfrid. He had an estate in Oxfordshire, where not stated, of over three hides held of him by *Godefrid.* William Leuric had also lands in Essex.

'Leuric,' his surname, is the Norman way of spelling Leofric, and William may have been an Englishman, and son of one so called; but I cannot find anything about him.

XXXIX.—ROGERIVS DE LACI.

Roger de Laci was a young man, certainly not thirty at the date of the Survey, who had only recently come into possession of a great estate in the West of England by the death of his father, Walter de Laci, on 27th March 1085, from the effects of a fall from some scaffolding while going over the monastic buildings he was erecting at Hereford. Of Roger's father, who was the grantee, we will first give a few particulars. Walter, and Ilbert de Laci[1] who had acquired a great barony in Yorkshire and had founded the castle he called 'Pontefract,' were, undoubtedly, brothers, and came from Lassy, near Bayeux.

Their father's name was probably Hugh, for each gave this name to a son. Walter was the elder, and a vassal of the see of Bayeux, holding a knight's fee in Lassy and Campeaux of Bishop Odo. This fief was afterwards held in parage by the heirs of Walter and Ilbert. Walter, if not also Ilbert, came over in the invading army with their suzerain, Bishop Odo, who was the Conqueror's half brother. Wace expressly states that the Chevalier de Laci was one of a party of knights, who, fearing no one, dashed into the fray, overthrowing many, wounding many, and killing many a good horse. Three or four years after we find Walter associated with William fitz Osbern, then created Earl of Hereford, and engaged in the reduction of the southern marches of Wales, as well as opposing the Welsh. We hear nothing more of Walter de Laci until 1074, when he marched with his fol-

[1] Ilbert de Laci also occurs in the Survey as a vassal of Bishop Odo, holding many manors of him, particularly in Lincolnshire and Oxfordshire, which afterwards became his on the bishop's banishment. I believe he is the only one of the Conqueror's barons of whose equestrian seal an impression exists. His original charter giving, jointly with Hadrude his wife, lands in Tingewick, Bucks, to the monks of the Holy Trinity of the Mount, signed by King William and Queen Matilda, is preserved at Winchester College. The seal is engraved in Archæological Journal, vol. IV., p. 249.

lowers, and joined the muster, under Bishop Wulfstan, of the men of Worcestershire, levied to oppose the forces of his own suzerain, Roger, Earl of Hereford, crossing the Severn on their way to join in rebellion the Earl of Norfolk. Mr. Eyton remarks "this was perhaps the crowning point of Walter's advancement, and his loyalty was exhibited most opportunely, for the earl's fall placed a vast fief at the king's disposal. Hence what we find of two manors in Domesday Book may be true of fifty, viz. : that Earl William's feoffees were displaced, and that the king gave those manors to Walter de Laci."[1] In 1080, Walter de Laci gave to the monks of Gloucester the lands of 'le Dene,' King William consenting and confirming. This was done at Berkeley just previous to Walter, his son, then a little boy, "being dedicated to the Lord and St. Peter." The youth was a future abbot of the monastery. Walter was erecting monastic buildings and a church dedicated to St. Peter, at Hereford, in 1085, and met with a fall on the works, which proved fatal, as before mentioned. In 1101, Hugh de Laci, his son, gave this church with its prebends to Gloucester Abbey, and it was transformed into a priory. Although Walter seems to have died at Hereford his body was brought to Gloucester and honorably interred in the Chapter House of the abbey.

... ... = (Hugh ?) de Laci, near Bayeux, dead 1069. = 2. Emma had lands at Bois l'Evêque, a nun at St. Amand, Rouen, in her widowhood, before 1069.

Walter de Laci, of Ewyas, ob. 27 March, 1085, at Hereford, bur. Gloucester. = 'Ermeline,' survived and living 1086.

Ilbert de Laci, lord of Pontefract, co. York, 1086, dead 1100. = Hadrude —

Roger de Laci, 1086, banished 1088.

2 Hugh de Laci, had the barony after Roger, Founder, of Llanthony Abbey, dead s.p. 1121.

3. Walter de Laci, minor 1080, abbot of Gloucester, 1130, ob. 8 Feb., 1139.

Erme- line (? ux Ernulf de Hesding.

Emma = ... *niece of Walter de Laci, ux. Ansfrid Cormeilles*, — Helewise ux, Will de Evreux.

Gilbert, took the name of de Laci, 1133, dead 1163.

[1] Hist. Shropshire, vol. V., p. 5.

Ermeline, widow of Walter de Laci, gave to the monks for the redemption of her husband's soul, a vill of five hides in Duntesbourne, having the King's licence to do so, as the Survey states.

Walter left three sons, Roger, Hugh, and the boy Walter, also two daughters, Ermeline and Emma. His widow Ermeline seems to have been the mother of them all, and I have an impression that she was daughter, or sister, of William fitz Osbern. The daughter Ermeline, although said to have died without issue, I suspect was the wife of Ernulf de Hesding, though the name of Ernulf's wife is written Emmeline.

The lands acquired by Walter, in Gloucestershire, amounted to twenty-seven manors, or more than any other lay proprietor. I am presuming they had all been his, but the Survey in describing the barony then in his son's possession, nowhere refers to him. Lands in the following places seem to have been retained in demesne:—Kempley, "Horsenhall," now *Oxen*-hall, Guiting, Painswick, Edgeworth, Queinton, and Stratton. Of lands in Swindon, the Survey says, "Roger holds, and his mother had held it as her dower," and that Roger and his mother *hold* two manors in Sclostre (Lower Slaughter). All these were the lands of various former proprietors. Besides this, Roger holds half a hide called 'Modiete,' with a fishery in the Wye which Brictric had held. Also half a hide in Tidenham, formerly belonging to Archbishop Stigand, which, no doubt, had been granted to Walter on that prelate's deposition at Easter, 1072.

After the Conqueror's death we find Roger de Laci ranged on the side of Duke Robert, and in 1088, after having with Bernard du Neuf-marché wrested Hereford from the king and effected a juncture with Ralph de Mortemer and other allies, they all marched towards Worcester, but were entirely routed by the retainers of the aged bishop Wulfstan before they reached the city. Roger fell into the power of the king, who at once expelled him from the kingdom and gave his inheritance to his brother, who had faithfully kept his fealty. This was Hugh de Laci, the founder of Llanthony Abbey, who was dead without issue 1121, and the only surviving brother, Walter, being a monk of Gloucester

(Abbot 1130, died 8 Feb., 1139), a nephew named Gilbert, son of their sister Emma, took the name of de Laci, and secured the estates, which descended in his heirs.

Those who held lands of the barony of Roger de Laci, in Gloucestershire, were :—

GILBERT at Duntesbourne. This was Gilbert de Esketot, who, with his wife and son Robert, gave to Gloucester Abbey, in 1100, the land he held here for the soul of his lord, Walter de Laci. He was ancestor of Richard, Roger, Ralph, and Anschitel de Esketot, military tenants of Hugo de Laci in 1166.

GIRARD, at Oakley.

HUGH, at Little Rissington and Winrush.

ODO, at Carswell.

RALPH, at 'Icombe,' in Salemanesberie hundred and Winrush, probably his name was 'de Baskervill.

WALTER FITZ ERCOLD, Wormington.

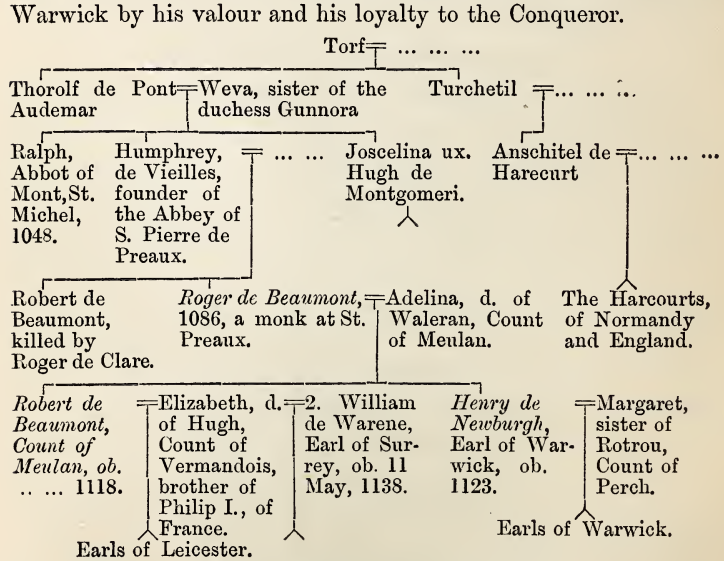
WILLIAM, at Leach and Hatherop. No doubt, William of Evreux (de Ebroicis), whose widow Helewyse, gave to the monks of Gloucester land in Worcestershire called 'Hyde,' which Walter de Laci gave her in marriage. This was the progenitor of Devereux, Viscount Hereford, once Earl of Essex as well.

XL.—ROGERIVS DE BELMONT.

Rogĕr de Beaumont holds a manor of ten hides in Dorsington, and Robert (his son probably) of him. This was the venerable seigneur of Beaumont-(le-Roger)[1] who had been, in former days, the first man in Normandy, being left by the duke to assist the Duchess in the government of the province during the expedition. Mr. Eyton writes in his recent valuable work, "A Key to Domesday," p. 76 : "The appearance of this name on any page of Domesday is a marvel: and it only occurs in Dorset and Gloucestershire. Its bearer had appeared on the stage of active life as early as 1034. His presence at Hastings in 1066 is a myth of the worst informed and most inventive of the chroniclers (Wace.)

[1] There are several other places in Normandy called Beaumont. This one was ever after distinguished by his Christian name. There are examples of this in England, *viz* : Askham-Richard and Askham-Brian, Burton-Agnes and Burton-Erneburga, all in Yorkshire. In this county we have instances in Acton-*Ilger* and *Harry*-Stoke, but there were other places formerly so distinguished (see Testa de Nevill, p. 79.), Lipyat-*Richard*, Lipyat-*Harry*, Leach-*Cecilia*, and others.

He was too old for active service, and his eldest son Roger de Beaumont was a leading instrument of the Norman success. Later still, Roger de Beaumont, becoming entitled to the Comté of Meulan in right of his wife (Adeline, sister and heir of Count Hugh), seems to have resigned the dignity in favour of this same son, who, thereupon, became Count of Meulan, and, as such, appears in many a page of Domesday. The latest intelligence we have of this patriarch is his grant of his Dorset manor of Sture, (now Stour-*Provost*, in error for Preaux), to his Norman Abbey of St. Leger at Preaux (founded by Humphrey de Vieilles, his father). This grant, though it certainly took effect before 1084, is ignored in Domesday, which speaks of this place still as Roger de Belmont's. The probability is that Roger de Beaumont was living, though in a cloister at the date of Domesday." He died a monk at Preaux. His son Robert, Count of Meulan, was made Earl of Leicester by Henry I., in 1103, and his younger son, Henry, had, long before Domesday even, earned the Earldom of Warwick by his valour and his loyalty to the Conqueror.



XLI.—ROGERIVS DE IVERI.

Roger de Ivri had his name from that Ivry, near Evreux, distinguished as "la-Bataille," since it was the scene of the decisive

victory gained by Hen. IV. of France over the armies of the Ligue, in 1590. He was, undoubtedly, a younger brother of Robert de Ivri, lord of Breval, who founded, in 1071, an abbey at Ivri dedicated to Our Lady, and was, therefore, son of Robert de Breval by Albreda, presumed by Mr. Stapleton, with good reason, to have been one of the daughters and co-heirs of Rodolf, Count of Bayeux. The Count was uterine brother of Duke Robert, and it was his wife, the Countess Albreda, who got Lanfred, the architect, then famous for his skill in planning castles, to construct a fortress for her at Ivry. This completed, she, made by him mistress of all its intricacies and secret devices, had him beheaded that he might never reveal them, or build another castle like it. On the strength of this knowledge she, attempting to keep her husband out of it, was taken, and afterwards, herself, put to death by him. Her two sons became bishops, but her grandson, William fitz Osbern, the Earl of Hereford, seems to have inherited the castle and eldest daughter's share of the chatellany. Albreda appears to have been another of the three daughters and co-heirs of Count Rodolph, and Albreda, named after her, was mother, no doubt, of Roger, but certainly of Robert. Robert de Ivri had no lands in England, if he ever came over; he probably remained as Castellan of Ivri. Roger de 'Yveri' obtained the office of butler to the duke, and occurs witnessing a charter as 'Pincerna.' A knight's fee in the bailiwick of Tinchebrai was held by this sergeanty, if not by him by Waleran de Ivri his heir, a century later. Hugh de Ivri, who held Ambrosden, in Oxfordshire, in 1086, and also occurs as 'Pincerna,' was, doubtless, a brother of Roger and the Hugh holding lands of him in Stoke (-Line) and another place.

It appears from an old Memorandum, that Roger d'Ivri and Robert d'Oyly came over with William the Bastard, as sworn brothers and confederates, bound by mutual oaths. This statement derives confirmation from the undoubted fact, which Domesday reveals, that they both held lands at Stow, in Bucks, of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and were joint tenants under the Abbot of Abingdon, as well as co-founders of St. George's Chapel in Oxford Castle.

The first evidence we have of Roger's presence in England is when witnessing, as 'Rogerus de Juri,' with all the bishops and nobles, the charter of King William giving Deerhurst to the monks of St. Denys, made in the Monastery of St. Swithin, at Winchester, on the second day of Easter (*i. e.* Monday, 13th April), 1069.

He had twenty-eight manors in Oxfordshire, of which he retained in his own hands only those in Mixbury, Beckley, Asthall, Fulbrook, and 'Welton.' Hugh, his tenant, at Stoke(-Line) and another place unnamed, was, in all probability, Hugh de Ivri who held Ambrosden, in the same county, doubtless, his brother. Moreover, the wife of Roger de Ivri, herself, had an estate, separate from her husband, of five hides in 'Letelape' (Islip). She was the daughter of the great baron, Hugh de Grentmesnil, who may have settled this on her with the king's licence.

'Adelisa, wife of Roger de Breio' (sic) gave to Abbot Serlo (ob. 1104) and the monks of Gloucester, Brocthorp, with the church there. She also made a grant to Bec, survived Roger some years, but died his widow at Rheims in 1091 and was buried at St. Evroult, where her father lay.

Roger had several manors in Bucks, but retained none of them. Fulk de Lisours was one of his vassals in that county.

The lands Roger de Ivri held in Gloucestershire were:— Siward's great lordship of Tetbury, twenty-three hides; Archbishop Aldred's manor in Hampton (Hampnet), with ten burgess tenants in the town of Winchcombe; land in Upton, which had been rated with Tetbury for Danegeld, at 33*l.*, now farmed for 50*l*; A manor in Culkerton, held of him by Anschitel; and another in Hasledon, which was given him by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, of whom he had previously held it as his vassal. We also read that Roger de Ivri had let to farm a manor which Earl William had made up of the two vills of Aston and Beckford, having given the churches and tithes to the Abbey of Cormeilles. The Domesday inquest, however, declared that the jurors had never seen the king's writ, shewing that this land had been given to the earl. It is, therefore, written down as 'Terra Regis.'

Roger de Ivri, it is clear from this, had been, at one time, sheriff of Gloucester. He was, however, a good deal in Normandy, and about 1078, it appears, having the custody of the Tower of Rouen, he made preparations for an anticipated attempt, by the king's son Robert, to take it by surprise, and sent messengers with the news to his lord the king.

Roger de Ivri was living in 1087, when his lands were harried by the French. One of those raids which induced the king to march into the French Vexin and suddenly appear before Mantes one afternoon at the end of July, when the townsfolk had gone out to see what devastation Ascelin Goël, in retaliation, had been making in the neighbourhood by burning the ripe corn and rooting up the vines the day before. Here the king fell sick and turned back to Rouen to die. This is the last we hear of Roger de Ivri as well, and Ascelin,[1] surnamed Goël, mentioned above, who held Breval, seems to have succeeded Roger in England and Normandy as his heir.

He was son of Robert (de Breval) who had confirmed, with his sons Ascelin-Goël and William, a grant to St. Evroult, and died a monk at Bec. Ascelin's capture by strategem of the Castle of Ivry from William de Breteuil, his kinsman, its lord, is well recounted by Ordericus. He married William's daughter, Isabel, and had Robert, William surnamed 'Louvel,' ancestor of the lords Lovel, Ralph 'Louvel,' from whom the Lovels of Cari, and four other sons. I have mentioned this audacious man because he evidently succeeded Roger in this county; an interesting fact that has not been, so far as I am aware, remarked before. He occurs as 'Ascelin de Tateburi" in the list of those who had tenants of their fiefs in the town of Gloucester, 1097-1101. (ante, p. 91) Tateburi being Tetbury, which had been Roger de Ivri's chief estate in this county.

[1] 'Goël' or 'Goule,' by which name Ascelin, as well as his son was known, is clearly 'Guelph,' or 'Whelp,' the wolf-cub of which Louvel, or Loupel, is the Norman-French equivalent, a diminutive of Lou, or Loup (Lupus). Two of his sons were known as 'Lovell,' and originated the surname which distinguished their descendants. We find a wolf statant regardant, on the seal of William Lovel, his son.

William 'Longsword,' Duke of Normandy, assd. 15 Jan., 942. = Sprote = 2. Asperling, the miller of Vaudreuil.

Richard I., Duke of Normandy, bo. 932. | Albreda living, 1011, built the Castle of Ivri. = Rodolph, Count of Bayeux, lord of Ivri, 1011. = 2. Eremberga, de Canville in Caux.

Hugh, Bishop of Bayeux, 1006, ob. 1049, had a d. Albreda | John, Archbishop of Rouen, 1069, ob. 9, Sept., 1079. | ... ux. Osbern de Crespon | Robert de Breval = Albreda ... ux. Rd. de Beaufoy.

Robert de Ivri, lord of Breval, founded an Abbey at Ivri. = Hildigarde, dau. of Hervey, lord of the Castle of Galardon, ob. 1115. | *Roger de Ivri*, Butler of Normandy, Lord of Tetbury, 1086, died 1091. = Adeliza, d. of Hugh de Grentmesnil, ob. 1091. | *Hugh de Ivri*, of Ambrosden, co. Oxf., 1086, 'pincerna regis.'

Ascelin 'Gouël' of Breval, and Ivri, Lord of Tetbury. = Isabel, or Elizabeth, ill. d. of W. de Breteuil. | William, 1090. — Robert, a clerk. | Adelisa, s.p.

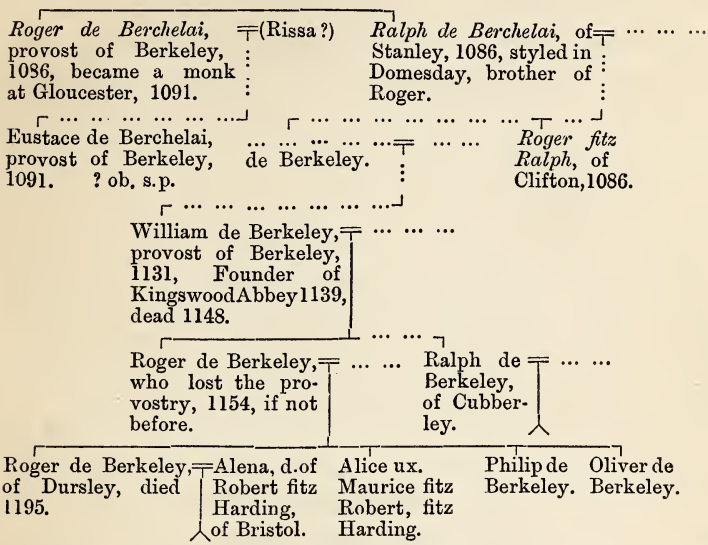
The Lovels of Minster Lovel, co. Oxf., and Cary, co. Som., and *perhaps* the Percivals.

XLII. ROGERIVS DE BERCHELAI.

Roger de Berkeley was one who exercised great influence in the southern part of the country by reason of his being provost of the extensive royal estates in that district, viz.: Berkeley Harnesse, and Barton Regis, near Bristol. Roger de Berkeley also held, as a tenant *in capite*, three manors in this neighbourhood, in Cubberley, Dodington, and Siston. In Wilts he held the manor of Foxley, and with it a house in the town of Malmesbury, also land at Eston, and a hide, less half a virgate, of the demesne farm of Chippenham.

His importance was, however, due to his being provost of Berkeley, which, together with the dependent territory, he farmed of the crown for 170*l.*—a great sum in those days. At 'Berkeley' he resided and was known by that name, as it appears was also his brother Ralph, who does not seem to have had any interest there. From this it may be doubted whether or not their father had not been the first Norman holder of this office. We learn from the Survey that there were no less than twenty-one 'berwicks',

or out-lying grain farms belonging to Berkeley, and of these Roger himself held one hide in Slimbridge, one in Clinger, one in Hurst, and seven hides in Newington (-Bagpath). He also held the land of Bernard the priest.



There is evidence that Roger attended before the commissioners of the Survey when in session, probably at Berkeley, for it is recorded that he told them that in King Edward's time two brothers held five hides at Cromehall of this manor, but they had been at liberty to commend themselves with their land to whom they would. Earl William had, however, put these lands under the protection of the provost that he might have their service. Moreover, from the History of St. Peter's, Gloucester, we learn that, unknown to Abbot Serlo, Roger had unjustly caused Nympsfield to be set down in "the description of all England," as bound to supply the royal table.[1]

The Survey states that five hides at Nesse had belonged to Berkeley but Earl William separated them from it to build a fort ('castellulum'), Roger, however, claimed it. This must have been either at Sharpness or on that other *nose*, or headland, on the other

[1] Hist. et Cart. S. Petri, Glo., I., p. 101.

side of the Severn, called Nass point, which is directly opposite Berkeley. The Survey is mostly silent about castles, so, as to whether there was one at Berkeley. In all probability the moated enclosure had a hall, courtyard, offices, and, on a mound, a watch tower and refuge, the predecessor of the keep long before the Conquest, but whether these sufficed for the Norman king may be doubted. The hall was probably re-built by Earl William like the one he erected at Striguil. The king and court were doubtless at Berkeley once a year, when in England, either on the progress to Gloucester, where the festival of the Nativity was usually celebrated in state, or on their way by Bristol, Bath, and Marlborough, towards London or Winchester afterwards. In those days the court travelled from place to place to consume the produce on the spot. To provide for this annual event must have been an important part of Roger's duty; certain of the tenants, if not all of them, had to supply the royal table during the period of residence, from which service, it appears, Nympsfield should have been set down as exempt.

There is evidence that the Conqueror was at Berkeley in 1080, for while staying here he approved and confirmed a grant of land made by Walter de Laci to the monks of Gloucester.[1]

Roger de Berkelai held also 'Etelau' (Haglow), a detached member of the royal manor of Awre, on the western side of the Severn. Besides this, he was doubtless the same 'Roger, though his surname is not given in this instance, who farmed the royal manor of Barton(-Regis) at Bristol. When he received it he found there, in demesne, land of two ploughs instead of three as there had been, and only two hides of land. There were two mills—as windmills were unknown—these must have been on the river Frome, and probably the sites could now be identified. As his jurisdiction extended to the walls of Bristol and the castle of Bishop Geoffrey, Roger would have had a good deal to do with the town. His court was held at the Barton,[2] and the manor together with Bristol

[1] Hist. et Cart. S. Petri, Glo., v. I., p. 374.

[2] The site of the Barton-Regis, was at Barton Hill, near Bristol, a short distance south of the Lazar-house dedicated to St. Lawrence, about half-a-mile beyond Lawford's (*i.e.* Hlaford) Gate, on the Bath Road which

paid the king 110 marks of silver, besides which the burgesses paid, as they say, 33 marks of silver and one mark of gold to the Bishop, being, apparently, the third penny of the customary rents and dues. In Mangotsfield, a member of this manor, were three hides held by the church of Bristol.

Nothing is known of Roger's origin, but I believe, on the authority of a pedigree of the Berkeleys drawn up by John Newland, Abbot of St. Augustine, at Bristol (el. 1481-ob. 1515), Roger de Berchelai, a *later namesake* of the Conqueror's provost, is stated to have been "of the blood of Edward the Confessor." This statement has been applied to Roger of 1086 as well; but there is no evidence whatever that he inherited any lands from before the Conquest, which is very much against this theory. However, it is not impossible he might have been a grandson of Earl Ralph by Goda, the king's sister, which is the only probable way in which he could have been *nearly* related to the Confessor. It is more likely in every way that he was a Norman. Roger de Berchelaico and Rissa his wife, gave certain costly vestments and ornaments to the Abbey of St. Martin d'Auchy, near Aûmale. The late Mr. Stapleton first pointed this out and considered it to refer to Roger of Domesday Book. "The name of his wife," he adds, "bespeaks her of Welsh extraction."[1] Furthermore, in the time of King Stephen, that later Roger before mentioned obtained from Bernard de St. Valeri, for himself and his heirs, exemption from the dues of the port of St. Valery (sur-Somme), as if to pass to and from an estate in Normandy.[2]

All else we know about Roger de Berkeley we learn from the history of St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester: viz., that on a certain St. Sebastian's day (20 Jan.) he became a monk there under lord Serlo

traversed the royal chace of Kingswood. A pound was the last relic on the spot of its former jurisdiction. The extensive *manor* of Barton-Regis included Kingswood. William, Earl of Gloucester, gave to the priory of St. James, at Bristol, cell of Tewkesbury Abbey :—"Ortum de Bertun de Bristolle cum ortulano et tenemento quod tenuit." (Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 381 n.) I may add this was not St. James' Barton, Bristol, which was the farmyard of the priory.

[1] Archæologia, vol. xxvi., p. 359. [2] Mon. Angl. i., p. 812.

the abbot, and *freely* returned the monks the land at Shotshore which he long had withheld from them, the king confirming this, which was done in 1091. He, it seems, left it to Eustace de Berkeley to free their land at Nymphsfield again from the service of the royal table, which he, unknown to the abbot, had caused to be so set down in the Survey. This was done in 1093, by which date, if not two years previously, Eustace had succeeded Roger as provost, in, apparently, an hereditary office secured to the family by royal charter. Eustace was probably Roger's son, and died without issue, for in the descendants and heirs of Ralph de Berkeley of Stanley, Roger's brother, we find the provostry united to their own patrimony.

In the reign of King Stephen Roger de Berkeley, the then provost, sided with the king, which was the cause of the downfall of this family, and Berkeley, *as a fief*, was granted to Robert fitz Harding, the rich and influential provost of Bristow, as a reward, and probably also in part composition for money advanced and important services rendered to the ultimately triumphant cause of the Empress and her son. Cross matches were arranged to make peace between the families, and Roger de Berkeley was allowed by Henry II. to retain, in fee, Ouselworth, Newton, and the fief of Bernard 'the chaplain,' within the 'honor,' but without service to it, as well as his other lands in Gloucestershire.[1]

XLIII.—RADVLFVS DE BERCHELAI.

'Ralph, brother of the same Roger de Berkeley, had the lands of Godric in Wapley and Stanley, and, in the latter place, also the land of Wisnod. He had also Tatwick, in Somerset.

As it appears the heirs of Roger also inherited these lands, either they were descended from Ralph, as indicated by the pedigree, or Ralph died without issue and the fief reverted to the elder line, which, however, is less probable.

XLIV.—RADVLFVS PAGENEL.

Ralph Paynel,[2] it is all but certain, was a younger son of the seigneur of Moûtiers-Hubert, near Lisieux, and had been, with

[1] Liber Niger, I., p. 172.

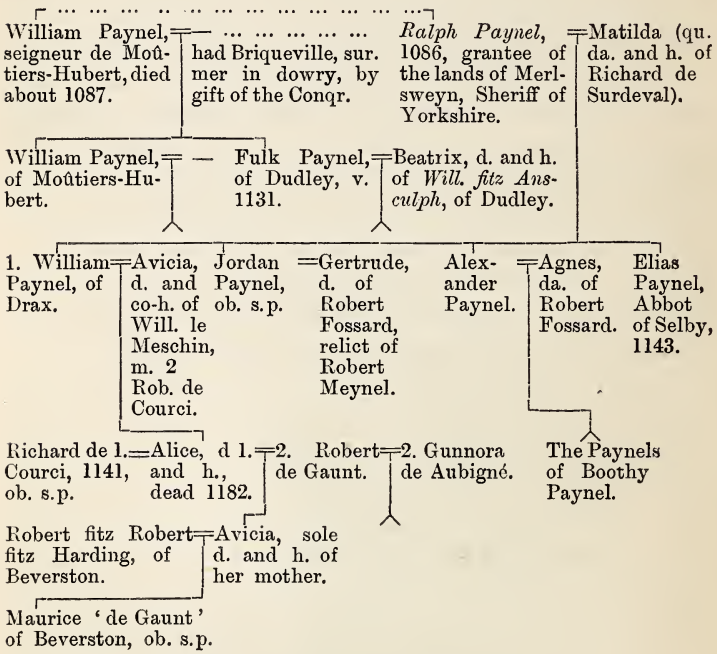
[2] Paynel is a diminutive of Pain, or Paganus, an ordinary *Christian* name at this date, though 'paganus,' originally a peasant, or rustic, had

his elder brother, William, at the Battle of Hastings, as "*Painals* of Moustiers-Hubert" were there according to Wace. William returned to Normandy, and Ralph was fortunate enough to get from the Conqueror a grant of all the lands of the thane Merlesweyn, he who had been Sheriff of Lincolnshire the year King Edward died. In that county were Merlesweyn's most valuable and extensive estates, but he had 13 manors in Yorkshire, others in Northants, and some as far away as Devonshire and Somersetshire, besides four and-a-half hides in 'Torenton,' *i.e* Thornton, now Torleton, in this county. All these Ralph got, except three manors in the North Riding of Yorkshire obtained, or perhaps bought, of Ralph by Alan, Earl of the East Angles, Lord of Richmondshire. Ralph also held Leeds of Ilbert de Laci. In Longtree hundred, in Gloucestershire, Roger de Ivri held land of Ralph, but they both relinquished it. Ralph, his tenant at Torleton, was evidently Ralph du Rouelle, who had held lands of him in Somerset. There is nothing to record of Ralph Pagenel in connection with Gloucestershire. The North was the scene of his activity. We find him Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1088, and engaged as such in restraining the Bishop of Durham. He was present at Old Sarum on the 2nd November in that year, when the bishop defended himself before Rufus in council but was banished. A most graphic description and report remains of this by an eye witness, one of the bishop's attendants. Ralph re-founded the priory in Micklegate, York, and survived the accession of Henry I[1]. Matilda, his wife, seems to have been daughter and co-heir of Richard de Surdeval, most of whose lands came to Ralph. By her he had four sons, William, Jordan, Elias (after Abbot of Selby), and Alexander. Male descendants of the last remained at Boothby-Paynel, in Notts, until Elizabeth's reign. The great fief of Ralph came at last to a grandson of the Gloucestershire magnate, Robert fitz Harding, namely to Maurice, called 'Paynel,' but

come to mean a heathen, as the country people had remained unconverted long after the town-folk had received the christian faith.

[1] See an elaborate essay on the founder of the priory of the Holy Trinity, and his family, by the late Mr. Stapleton, who was so well acquainted with Anglo-Norman genealogies (York. Vol. Archæol. Inst.)

generally 'de Gaunt,' lord of Leeds, &c., in right of Avicia his mother, wife of Robert fitz Robert fitz Harding, and only child of William Paynel's daughter and heiress :—Alice, wife, first of Richard de Courci, secondly of Robert de Gaunt. Robert married, after her death, Gunnora d' Aubigny, and had four sons, so Maurice inherited nothing from him, though he assumed the name of Gaunt.[1]



XLV.—RADVLFUS DE TODENI.

Ralph de Toëni was seigneur of Toëni (Todeneium, now Thosny), and Conches, in Normandy, and hereditary standard

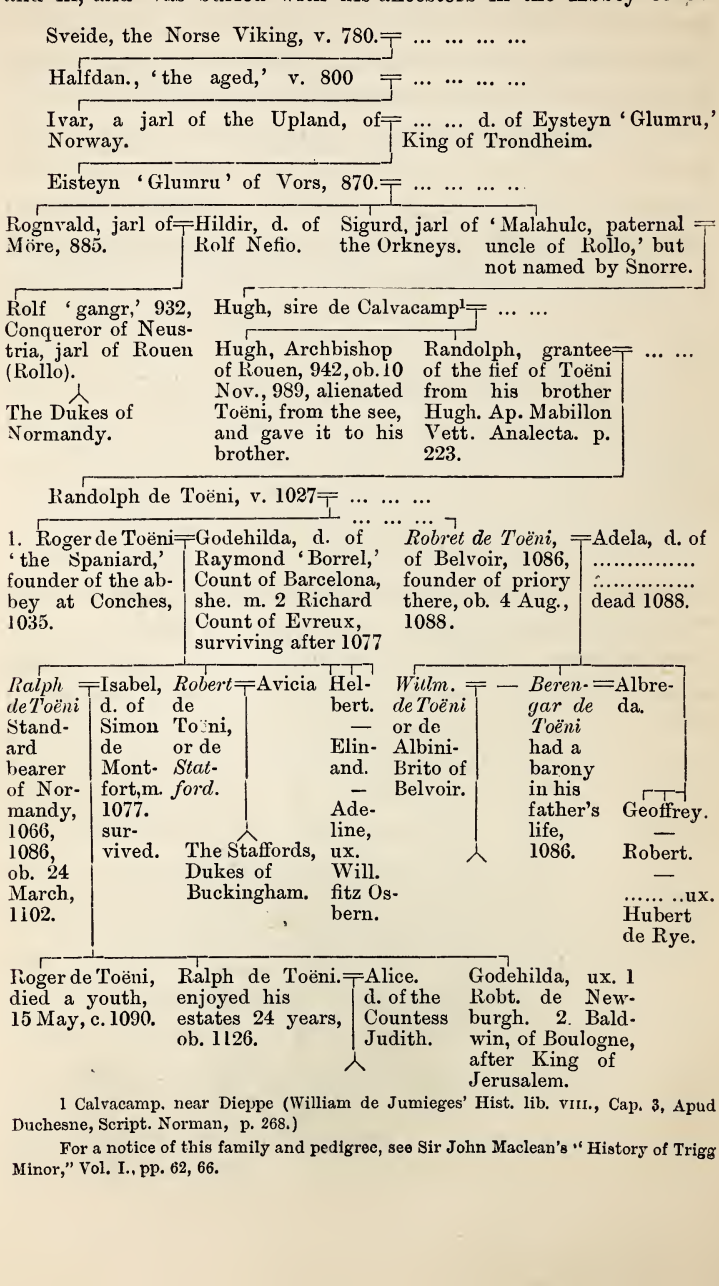
[1] Fulk Paynel, who acquired Dudley by marrying, as it is stated, Beatrix, daughter and heiress of William fitz Ansculph de Pinchengi who held it at the date of the Survey, was not a son of Ralph, as Dugdale makes him (Baronage, I., p. 431), but, apparently, a younger son of William Paynel of Moûtiers-Hubert, Ralph's elder brother. Dudley came to Ralph de Someri of Campden, in Gloucestershire, in right of his mother Hawise Paynel, Fulk's grand-daughter, and he assumed the Paynel arms :—two lions passant.

bearer to the Duke of Normandy, but at Hastings he declined to bear the gonfanon sent to the duke by the pope, so that he might fight without any incumbrance. We find him amply rewarded for his services, some 130 manors falling to his share. These were chiefly in Herefordshire and the distant county of Norfolk.

In Gloucestershire he had Charingworth, Iccombe, (now Westcot) and lands in (Down-) Ampney, (South-) Cerney, and Harnhill, all held of him by one Roger; a manor in (Lower) Swell, held of him by Drogo (fitz Pons); and Bromsborow, which he seems to have retained himself; Flamstead in Hertfordshire, and Clifford Castle in Herefordshire, appear to have been his chief seats.

There is nothing but the following to relate of him in connection with Gloucestershire, but he was brother-in-law of William fitz Osbern, whose wife was Roger's sister Adeline. He obtained from Simon de Montfort l'Aumauri his daughter, Isabel, in marriage, as a reward for procuring for him, by abduction, Agnes, his own half sister, daughter of Richard, Count of Evreux, as a wife for his future father-in-law. Isabel is described by Ordericus (Book viii., ch. xiv.) and he states that she rode, herself, in knightly armour when the vassals of her lord took the field and exhibited much daring. Her husband was ruled by her and his vassals oppressed; still she was generous and esteemed by those about her. By him she had Roger and Ralph, and a daughter, Godehilda, wife, first of Robert de Neubourg and afterwards of Baldwin of Boulogne, youngest brother of the famous Godfrey, and, himself, afterwards King of Jerusalem. Ralph 'de Conches,' as he is sometimes styled, intending to go into Spain, went to St. Evroult and implored pardon of the abbot and monks for having, some time before, abetted Arnold d'Echaufour when he burned the town. He obtained this by making them recompense, and vowing to do more for them when he came back from Spain. He had friends and relatives and, perhaps, property in Spain, for Godehilda, his mother, was daughter of Raymond Borrel, Count of Barcelona, and Roger de Toëni, his father, was called "the Spaniard" from this match. He kept his word, and gave the abbot lands in England and Normandy.

Ralph died 24th March, 1102 after various turns of fortune, good and ill, and was buried with his ancestors in the Abbey of St.



1 Calvacamp. near Dieppe (William de Jumieges' Hist. lib. VIII., Cap. 3, Apud Duchesne, Script. Norman, p. 268.)

For a notice of this family and pedigree, see Sir John Maclean's "History of Trigg Minor," Vol. I., pp. 62, 66.

Peter de Chastillon, of their foundation, at Conches. Isabel, surviving, became a nun, and Ralph, their son, aged probably about two or three-and-twenty, succeeded to the estates in Normandy and England, and enjoyed them nearly twenty-four years. He was ancestor of the baronial house of Toëni.

The continuator of the Monk of Jumieges asserts that this family was descended from Malahulc, uncle (patruus) of Rolf-gangr, or Rollo, who was, as we learn from the Heimskringla, son of Rognvald, jarl of Möre, in Norway, by Hildir, daughter of Rolf Nefio.

Ralph de Toëni, with his mother Godehilda, gave lands and tithes to the Abbey of St. Peter de Chastillon, among them the tithes of his demesne in 'Bromesberg.' The charter is signed by himself, Ysabel, and Ralph the son. This must have been some years later than 1077, when Simon de Montfort gave his daughter Isabel to Ralph in marriage,[1] as stated above.

XLVI.—ROBERTVS DE TODENI.

Robert de Toëni was no doubt of the same family as Roger, and nearly related to him, but Robert "de Statford," of the Survey, ancestor of the Dukes of Buckingham, was Roger's younger brother, and was not identical with this tenant, because we find them both holding lands in Lincolnshire in 1086.

It is possible that this Robert may have been a junior uncle of Ralph, and, therefore, younger son of Randolph, sire de Toëni, in 1027.

It is very likely he was at Hastings with Ralph. He was not a young man in 1086, because we find Berenger de Toëni, his younger son, in possession of a considerable fief at that date. Robert obtained a grant of some eighty manors in divers counties, but chiefly the lands of Turgot, the lawman, and others in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. In the midst of these he chose that remarkable site in Leicestershire for his castle which he called 'Belvoir.' Among his outlying lands were those of a certain Ulf, of

[1] Mon. Angl., vol. I., p. 559.

which thirty-three hides were in Gloucestershire, namely, at Great Risington, Horton, Saperton, and Frampton. Lands at Saperton were part of his endowment of the priory, a cell to St. Alban's Abbey, which he founded adjoining Belvoir Castle. Robert de Toëni died 4th Aug., 1088, and was buried in the chapter house of the priory. By his wife, Adela, whom he survived, he had William, called "de Albini-Brito," ancestor, in the female line, of the Duke of Rutland, the present possessor of Belvoir Castle. 2. Berengar de Toëni, who held lands under his father in 1086, and had, himself, a considerable barony in Yorkshire. With Albreda, his wife, he gave lands to St. Alban's Abbey. 3. Geoffrey, and 4. Robert, besides a daughter, wife of Hubert de Rye, Constable of Norwich.

XLVII.—ROBERTVS DISPENSATOR.

Robert, the despenser, was, in 1086, the possessor of ten hides in (Child's) Wickham, in Gloucestershire, which one Baldwin, probably, from his name, a Fleming, had held. This must be the Robert the despenser,[1] who was holding, at this date, the lordships of Scrivelsby and some six other manors in Lincolnshire, and lands in other counties, and he has been identified with Robert 'Marmion,' lord of Tamworth, in the next reign, whose heirs certainly possessed Scrivelsby. Marmion, or Marmilon, is said to be the Norman-French equivalent for Dispensator. Anyhow, this was evidently the brother of Urso d'Abitot :—'Robert, the king's despenser,' who did not scruple to join Urso in his spoliation of the lands of the ecclesiastics in Worcestershire, making use even of the royal authority in so doing.

The identity of Robert Despenser, brother of Urso, with the Lord of Tamworth is further shown by the charter of the Empress Maud, restoring that place to William de Beauchamp as the heir of both.

XLVIII.—ROBERTVS DE OILGI.

Robert d'Oyly, it is presumed, came from that Ouilly, near Lisieux, styled 'le Vicomte,' to distinguish it from other places

[1] There was another, for it is evident Robert fitz Turstin, one of the king's officials, who, as such, held a manor at Great Rollwright, was another "despenser." His heir was holding this manor by serving the office in the thirteenth century.

bearing the same name even in that neighbourhood. According to Wace, "he of Oillie," was at the Battle of Hastings, meaning, probably Robert, and an old memorandum records that he and Roger de Ivri came over together as sworn brothers in arms. Years after we find these two conjointly founding the chapel in Oxford Castle and holding lands of Bishop Odo and of the Abbot of Abingdon, which rather confirms their asserted brotherhood.

Robert's services must have been great, or his influence powerful, to have obtained a grant of over sixty manors; of these, some thirty were in Oxfordshire, fourteen in Herefordshire, seven in Bucks, a few others elsewhere, and three in Gloucestershire. These last were the lands of Siward in Turkdean and (Wick-) Risington and those of Turstin, in Naunton which Osbern fitz Richard 'holds' of him. Conversely, we find Robert holding Granby, in Notts, of the same Osbern fitz Richard. Robert himself held lands of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Archbishop Lanfranc, and of the Abbot of Abingdon.

Robert d'Oyly, 1086. Castellan of Oxford, ob. s.p.	= Aldgitha (? d. of Wigod, of Wallingford.	Nigel d'Oyly, brother and heir.	= Agnes, d. of	*Gilbert* d'Oyly, 1086	*Wido d'Oyly*, of Wigginton, 1086.
Robert d'Oyly, v. 1129.	= Edith, d. of Ligulfson.	Forn		Fulk d'Oyly bu. Eynsham, 1126.	

In Oxfordshire, naturally with the bulk of his property, lay his influence. He seems to have been sheriff of the county and constable of Oxford Castle. In the town of Oxford he had St. Peter's Church and many houses. Nine manors in the county he kept in demesne, the rest were held of him by nine tenants, one of whom, 'Gilbert,' seems to have been his brother of that name. Wido de Oilgi, who held of the king ten hides in Wigginton, in the same county, was, it is believed, another brother. Hook-Norton, where Robert held thirty hides, was, probably, made the caput of his extensive barony. It is remarkable that Domesday does not give the name of his predecessor in this county except in the case of Goring, in which case we learn it was Wigod, he who in all likelihood had been the former lord of them all. This was the

great thane, Wigod of Wallingford, whose other lands fell to the lot of Milo Crispin, including what he had had in Gloucestershire. It has been suggested that Ealdgitha, Robert's wife, was Wigod's daughter. Robert exchanged the manor of 'Iverham,' Bucks, with Clarenbald de Marisco, for Padbury, and it is the fief of *his wife*. "One hide and-a-half in Ledwell, Oxon, was given to Robert by King William at the siege of Ste Suzanne." This scrap of information, given us by the Survey, proves that he must have been with the king in Normandy in 1083. From this it would appear Robert had been engaged in that vexatious business—the four years blockade of the viscount Hubert in his impregnable fortress. He was, however, back in England the following year, for we find him with Milo Crispin receiving young Prince Henry when visiting Abingdon in 1084.

What more we know about Robert d'Oyly we learn from the monastic history of Abingdon. He was Constable of Oxford Castle, and the whole neighbourhood was under his personal control. That he might fill his coffers he fleeced the rich and did not even spare the poor. By these unjust means he became wealthy, but in the days of his prosperity he never gave the monks of Abingdon even a thought, except to do them some injustice; among other things, getting the king's license, he took from them their meadow adjoining the castle of Oxford. Retribution came at the prayer of the monks, so they assert, and failing health helped to bring about the change. This, a vision, which the historian fully details, and his wife's importunity, completed, and Robert found himself one day at the high altar in the presence of Abbot Reginald, the whole convent, and many friends, giving the monks the lordship of Cadmerton, worth 10*l.* per annum, as well as over 100*l.* in money towards rebuilding the abbey church, as some reparation for the wrongs he had done them, and solemnly declaring never again to interfere with any of their possessions.

He was a different man for the rest of his life, and restored various ruined parish churches within and without the walls of Oxford. He built the great bridge at the west end of the 'place' of Oxford, and founded, together with Roger de Ivri, the chapel

dedicated to St. George within the castle there. Ealdgitha, his wife, and his brothers, Nigel and Gilbert, being consenting witnesses to the charter endowing the same.

It does not appear when Robert died, but it is clear he left no issue. Nigel d'Oyly, who succeeded his brother, is frequently mentioned in the History of Abingdon, and was the father of Robert d'Oyly the founder of Oseney Priory in 1129, whose wife's name was also Edith.

Robert d'Oyly and his wife had sepulture in the chapter house at Abingdon Abbey.

The Survey states that the Earl E(dwin) gave *Radulf* de Oilgi the lands at Bloxham of Saiet, a thane who dwelt there from the time of Earl Tostig (fo. 154 c.). Radulf's de Oilgi restored this land to the king's demesne. It is doubtful whether we should read 'Robert' here, as 'Radulf' is twice repeated.

Osbern fitz Richard, who holds of Robert five hides in Naunton, and Robert, the manor of Granby of him. "This was the son of Richard fitz Scrob, or le Scrupe, one of those Norman favourites of Edward the Confessor who escaped the rancour of Earl Godwin and his sons in 1052, and were not forced to leave the kingdom with others of their fellow countrymen. This was not alone due to the king's partiality, but, as we are told, to the blameless conduct of the natives to the favoured few. Robert, the deacon, a Norman whose daughter Richard had married, was another who remained in England." He had considerable estates in Worcestershire and Herefordshire, built Richard's castle, which bears in its name a memorial of him to this day. Richard, who survived the conquest, and "obviously," writes Mr. Eyton,[1] "threw his weight into the scale with the Normans," was next year resisting Eadric the forester. This is the last we hear of him. He was evidently dead long before the date of the Survey, for Osbern, his son, must have been a man of 50 or more, as holding lands before the

[1] Hist. Shropshire, vol. iv., p. 302. The Survey says: "He has twenty-three men in his castle at Avreton," and has lands in the March of Wales, which never paid danegeld, and in his waste lands, cleared of wood, Osbern hunted and kept what he was able to take.

conquest, probably assigned to him by his father. He succeeded his father in five manors only. We have no further information respecting Osbern, except that he had two sons, Hugh fitz Osbern fitz Richard and Turstin, witnesses to the charter of Osbern fitz Pons to Pershore Abbey.

It is an interesting question whether the great northern family, who glorified the name of Scrope (descended from Robert le Scrope who held three knights' fees in Gloucestershire in 1166), derived from Turstin, or possibly from another son of Osbern.

Some of the lords Scrope used as a canting device, a crab, called in the north a 'scrap.'

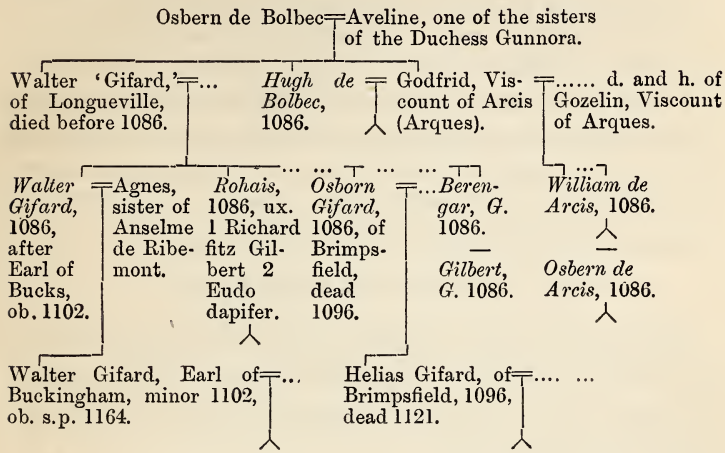
XLIX.—RICARDVS LEGATVS.

Richard the Legate, or Commissioner, held three hides in Tormarton, and unless he occurs under some other designation, or with his surname in other counties, this was all he held. The Commissioners to take the Survey were styled 'legati'; whether he was one of them, or on what business he was employed to acquire this name, does not appear.

L.—OSBERNVS GIFARD.

Osbern obtained a grant of the lands in Gloucestershire which had belonged to a thane named Dunne or Duns: namely, three manors, in Rockhampton, Stoke, and Brimpsfield; the last named, which his predecessor held under Earl Harold in the time of Edward the Confessor, was the most extensive. Stoke is distinguished to this day by his surname from other places so called, as is still that Longueville, in Normandy, which was a fief of the head of the family. At the date of the Survey Osbern was holding a hide of land in Oldbury (on-the-hill), but the county jury found that it had not belonged to Duns "ho," whose land Osbern had. In the neighbouring county of Wilts Osbern acquired two manors in Sherrington and eight others. Sherrington was probably his chief seat there. The abbey of St. Stephen at Fontenay was holding two hides and a virgate in Middleton of him, probably by his gift. This was augmented by a donation of land at Brimpsfield,

either by him subsequent to 1086 or by one of his heirs not long after, and, in consequence, the monks established a cell or priory at the latter place.



As to Osbern's paternity[1] there is no direct evidence, but he was doubtless a younger son of Walter, the first of the family surnamed "Gifard,"[2] lord of Bolbec and Longueville in Normandy, who had fought in the battle of Hastings, after having pleaded his grey hairs as an excuse to the duke, when requested by him to bear the gonfanon, that he might lead his own followers. Among these *may* have been his son Walter, who succeeded him, Osbern, Berengar, and, perhaps, Gilbert, all named in Domesday Book.[3] Walter II. was subsequently made Earl of Buckinghamshire. Osbern, being son of Walter, would have been named after his grandfather, Osbern de Bolbec, whose wife Aveline was one of

[1] A pedigree in Dodsworth's Colls. makes him son of Hugh 'Giffard,' *brother (?)* of the first Walter; this is not probable, because we *always* find Hugh, styled "de Bolbec." He was a tenant of Walter II., in Oxfordshire, 1086.

[2] The soubriquet acquired by Walter, and by which all his descendants were known, means, not the "Giver," from his liberality as was formerly supposed, but "one with round cheeks and double chin." The Norman-French word "Giffarde" coming in time to mean "a cook" or kitchen servant, from such being generally distinguished in this way.

[3] Berenger Gifard was lord of Fonthill (Giffard) in Wilts and Gilbert Giffard held lands in Winterbourne-Monkton of the Abbot of Glastonbury.

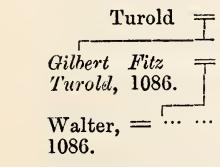
the sisters of the Duchess Gunnora. In this way he would have been cousin of William fitz Osbern and of the Conqueror himself.

As Osbern is not mentioned by any of the chroniclers all else we know is that he must have died in, or before, 1096, for that year Helias Giffard, who will have been his son and successor, gave part of his wood of Bockholt with three bordars to the monks of Gloucester. Helias himself was dead 1121, for then Helias Gyffard, his son and heir, together with Ala, his wife, added to the benefaction of his father. The heirs male of Osbern retained his estates until the time of Edward II.

LI.—GOISFRIDVS ORLETEILE.

Geoffrey, surnamed "Orleteile," or Orlatele holds of the King two hides and a virgate in Baudinton (Baunton), but had nothing in demesne. This is probably the same surname as Orescuilz, which occurs at a later date.

LII.—GISLEBERTVS FILIVS TVROLD.



Gilbert fitz Turold must have been a man of importance and of influence in his day, although very little can be found about him. Perhaps Turold, the constable of Bayeux was his father. He seems to have been one of those who came into the west with, or under, William fitz Osbern, to whom the Conqueror probably entrusted the allotment of the minor lands to those who had assisted him in the subjugation of this part of England. Several of the minor tenants in Capite in 1086 had evidently been vassals of the Earl of Hereford. After the earl's death, in 1072, Gilbert fitz Turold, with the king's leave, gave lands to the abbey of Evesham for the earl's soul. Ilbert fitz Turold, who had lands adjoining Gilbert's in Herefordshire, was, apparently, his brother, and the Survey informs us that Hadsor, in Worcestershire, was held of Gilbert by Walter his son-in-law. It is clear from this that he was almost, if not over, forty in 1086, and might, therefore, have been at Hastings. It

It is this same Walter, doubtless, who held lands of him in Rendcombe and Ayleworth, in Gloucestershire.

In this county we find Gilbert possessed of manors in (North) Cerney, Oakley (in Cirencester), Trewsbury, and Harford, besides Rendcombe and Ayleworth. At Cerney four of his knights with their vassals held of him. Osulf his tenant at Oakley, and Osward at Trewsbury seem to have been English. Besides this, Gilbert held in capite, a manor Erchenfield, Rotherwas, and five others in Herefordshire; Dodham and five others in Worcestershire; Chewstoke, and two manors in Somersetshire; as well as lands in the counties of Warwick, Cambridge, and Essex.

In Gloucestershire he held three and a half hides in Compton (Greenfield) of the Bishop of Worcester as of his manor of Westbury, and three hides in (Upper) Lemington of the Abbot of Westminster. Gislebert fitz Thorold was one of the witnesses to a charter of Ralph de Conches giving lands to St. Evroult (Ord. Vit. V., xiii.). He himself must have been a benefactor to the Abbey, for Henry I. confirmed to St. Evroult, among other things, the tithes of the fief of Gilbert fitz Turold at Pont Erchenfrid.

I find it stated that he was one of the supporters of the cause of Duke Robert, and that, in consequence, his lands were finally seized by William Rufus.

LIII.—DURANDVS DE GLOWECESTRE.

Durand de Gloucester, or Durand the 'viscount,' or sheriff, as he is indifferently styled in Domesday, was evidently sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1086 when the Survey was taken, and it would be part of his duty to attend the Commissioners in their progress through the county. He was brother of Roger de 'Pistres,' who, it would appear, had preceded him as sheriff in the time of Earl William (*i.e.* before 1072). This office, as in the case of Edward of Salisbury, had evidently been granted to Roger and his heirs, with certain conditions as to a minority occurring. Roger's son Walter was doubtless a minor at his father's death before 1086, so Durand, the brother of Roger

performed the office, apparently holding lands in virtue thereof. Durand seems to have retained it during life, and upon his death Walter succeeded.

Roger de Pistres, viscount of Gloucester, dead 1086, bu. Glou. = Adelisa, d. of ..... styled "the viscountess," living 1125.

Durand de Pistres, viscount of Glou., 1086, dead s.p. 1101, bu. Glou.

Walter fitz Roger de Pistres, or the 'Constable,' or de 'Gloucester,' viscount of Glou. in 1101, monk at Llanthony before 1131. = Berta, d. of .....

Herbert, ... (qu. the Chamberlain, 1086). = ... de Mara.

Milo fitz Walter, the king's Constable, viscount of Gloucester and Constable, 1131, cr. Earl of Hereford by Empress Maud. Died on 'the vigil of the Nativity, 1143, bu. Llanthony, Glouc. = Sybil, d. and h. of Bernard de Neufmarché, mar. 1121.

William de Mara, of Hereford Parva, nephew of Walter.

the three co-heirs.

Roger, Earl of Hereford, ob. s.p. 1154. = Cecilia, d. and co-h. of Pain fitz John.

Henry de Hereford, Constable of Glou. ob. s.p.

Ysabel, d. of ..... living 1166. =

Walter de Hereford, Sheriff of Glou., 1156-7. ob. s.p.

Maihel, de Hereford, — William, ob. s.p.

Margaret, ux. 1166, Humphrey de Bohun.

Berta ux. William de Braiose.

Lucy ux. Herbert fitz Herbert.

The Earls of Hereford and Lord High Constables.

Walter, however, was of age in 1086, and was in possession of his inheritance (see LVI., Walter fitz Roger, p. 166). However, this is the more convenient place to relate what has been discovered about Roger. From the cartulary of St. Peter's, Gloucester, we learn that the brothers Roger and Durand, bore the name of 'de Pistres,' so they must have come from that now rural village of Pîtres, which nestles amid the trees on the banks of the Seine, some miles above Rouen, at the foot of the Coté des Deux Amants, so well known, even in those days, for its romantic legend. At this obscure place the Carlovingian kings had had a palace, a converted Gallo-Roman villa, where ecclesiastical councils were held more than once. The brothers had evidently come into the West with William fitz Osbern, and the Survey states that Earl William gave the manor of Cerney to

Roger the viscount, father of Walter; this was probably true of most of his lands, though the manor of 'Lutelai,' in Herefordshire, held by Durand de Gloucestre, the Survey expressly states King William had given to Roger 'de Pistes.' In the history of Abingdon Abbey is a precept from the Conqueror for the benefit of the monks, addressed to Roger 'de Pitri.'[1] This is all that I can find about him. On his death, Durand gave lands in Westwood, in Erchenfield, co. Hereford, to St. Peter's, Gloucester, for the soul of his brother Roger. This is in the Survey, therefore made before 1086. Westwood was 'given,' rather confirmed, to the monks by Walter de Gloucestre for the souls of his father, mother, and *brother Herbert.*[2] Roger was buried in Gloucester Abbey, and his widow 'Adelisa the viscountess, mother of Walter,' was surviving as late as 1125, when she gave certain houses and rents in the town of Gloucester to the Abbey.

Durand de Glowcestre held in Gloucestershire some nineteen manors: five hides in Whaddon, being the five manors of five brothers; manors in Moreton(-Valence); and another in Westbury hundred; besides the following which he had subfeoffed: viz., lands in Culkerton held of him by Roger de Ivri; Seisincote and Iccombe by Walter, doubtless his nephew; Duntisbourne, Shipton, and Littleton, by one Ralph; Condicot by Osbern (fitz Pons.); Didmarton by Anschitel;[3] and Eastbrook by a certain knight of his. In Wilts, Durand held Cheriton and six other manors, and eight in Herefordshire, two of which "Walter, his nephew," (nepos.) was holding of him, and that 'Lutelai,' which King William had given to Roger de Pistres.

Durand had four houses in Gloucester, one free of tax, and he was probably constable of the castle. It is particularly interesting to find Durand in possession of Caldecot, in Monmouthshire, in 1086. He, or Roger, in all probability at the instance of Earl

[1] Chron. Mon. de Abingdon, Vol. II., p. 1.

[2] Hist. et. Cart. Mon. St. Petri de Glouc., Vol, I., p. 118.

[3] According to Sir Robert Atkyns, Otwell de Seward, son of this Anschitel, called 'Anschitel of the wood,' granted two hides in Didmarton to his uncle Elias. This requires verification.

William, had laid the foundations of the castle there, which together with the office of hereditary lord high constable of England, was to be held for so many generations by the great family of de Bohun, as descendants of Roger. The dignity of High Constable evidently grew out of the constableship of Gloucester, which Walter held, if not his father and uncle.

As an under-tenant, Durand 'the sheriff' 'holds' three hides in Standish which Earl William had given to his brother Roger, these Archbishop Thomas claims. He also held, under the Bishop of Hereford, lands in the vill of Sevenhampton, and of the Bishop of Worcester, lands in Barnsley and Southam. Durand was apparently dead by 1101, as we find Walter de Gloucester set down for fifteen houses in Gloucester, and spoken of as 'vicecomes' in that fragment preserved in the Evesham Register. He was buried in the Abbey at Gloucester, and does not appear to have left any descendants, his lands reverting to his nephew Walter.[1]

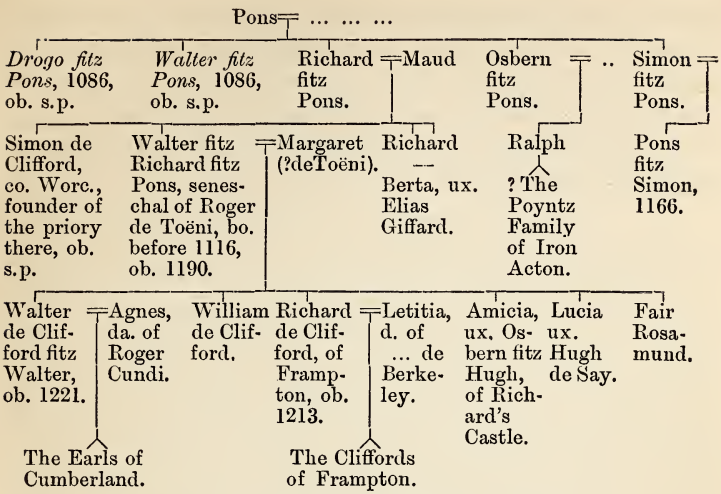
LIV.—DROGO FILIVS PONZ.

Dru fitz Pons was more probably a Frenchman than a Norman, his father's name belongs more especially to the south of France.[2] He had apparently four younger brothers, Walter, Simon, Richard, and Osbert. He and Walter seem to have died without issue, and in the heirs of Richard their lands in these parts were ultimately united and descended. In 'Lece' or Leach, not then subdivided and distinguished, Drogo had the lands of Cola, ten hides; and Walter fitz Pons, ten hides that had belonged to Earl Tostig. Besides this, Drogo held ten hides in Frampton, in which manor Roger de Laci was found to be unjustly holding a hide of Drogo's land. A burgess in Gloucester paid rent to this manor. Drogo had other manors in Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Wilts.

Under Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, he held no fewer than seventy-three manors in Devonshire, but none under him in this county.

[1] It was this portion of the paper that was kindly read by Sir Brooke Kay, Bart., at the Cheltenham Meeting, 10th of July, 1879.

[2] The statements about the ancestry and descendants of Pons in a work called 'The Norman People' are untrustworthy.



LV.—WALTERVS FILIVS PONZ.

The brother, undoubtedly, of Drogo, holding ten hides in Leach, where, as above mentioned, Drogo had an estate of like amount. Walter's manor has been identified as "Southrop." It had belonged to Earl Tostig, and would, therefore, be *soke*, free of the hundred. All else that Walter held in capite were three manors in Oxfordshire. Three hides at Eton, near Windsor, the Survey informs us he had given to Westminster Abbey for his own soul (fo. 61). Of Thomas, Archbishop of York, Walter held lands in that manor of Leach (North Leach) which had belonged to Gloucester Abbey. In the king's manor of Bampton, in Oxfordshire, Walter held a certain small portion (quādam particulam) of land. Walter, like Drogo, seems to have died *sine prole*, and the heirs of Richard fitz Pons to have ultimately succeeded to their estates, although we find these held in 1166 by Pons fitz Simon as eight knights' fees of the old feoffment of the Earl of Gloucester. Richard, as well as Osbern, or Osbert, another brother, was a benefactor to Malvern Priory. Osbert was living, apparently, in 1131, when, in the king's presence at Winchester, he gave the monks of Malvern the vill and church of 'Langen,' in Gloucestershire (Mon. Angl. I., 366). In 1144, 'Walter fitz Richard fitz Pons,' gave land in (East) Leach to the monks of Gloucester, obtaining from them Glasbury

to be held of Roger de Toëni, whose seneschal he was. This was Walter de Clifford, brother and heir of Simon who founded Clifford Priory, and ancestor of the great family of that name, the head of which had the earldom of Westmorland, and a junior branch retained possession of Drogo's manor of Frampton in this county for many generations.

LVI.—WALTERVS FILIVS ROGERIJ.

Walter fitz Roger was the son and heir of Roger de Pistres, who had been viscount, or sheriff, of Gloucester, and was dead before the date of the Survey. For the apparent reason that Walter was a minor at his father's death, or too young and inexperienced for the hereditary shrievalty, Durand de Pistres, his uncle, had the office for a term, or for life. Walter was, however, of age in 1086, and in possession of such, it would seem, of his father's land as were not held by the service of this office. An account of Roger will be found under the heading, LIII, 'Durand de Glowcestre,' p. 162. We find by the Survey that the estate then in the tenure of Walter consisted of two manors in (Little-) Barrington, and no less than thirteen hides and a virgate in (South-) Cerney, which, it was proved, Archbishop Stigand had held, for ten years at least, during the reign of King Edward, though the monks of Abingdon lay claim to this land. Earl William had given this manor to Roger, the sheriff, the father of Walter, therefore before Feb., 1072, when the grantor died. All else held of the king in capite out of this county by Walter fitz Roger 'de Pistes' was in Hants: viz., three manors and half a hide in Barton, held of him by Hugh de Port; 'Dene,' which one Herbert held of him; and 'Lesburne, in Earl Roger's park,' which was in the tenure of (the same) Herbert. This Herbert was, no doubt, his own brother, who must have died not long after, for the monks of Gloucester were to pray for his soul by desire of Walter, when giving or confirming Westwood (ante p. 163). It is not unlikely that in this brother Herbert we have that Herbert, the chamberlain, who was holding two manors in Hants of the king and another of Hugh de Port. Proof of this would be particularly interesting, as he was the progenitor of the great house of Fitzherbert, and

grandfather of that Herbert fitz Herbert who married one of the grand-daughters, and ultimate co-heirs, of Walter himself (see ante p. 162).

Walter fitz Roger, besides his fief under the crown, held of his uncle Durand lands in Seisincote and Iccombe, in Gloucestershire, besides two manors in Herefordshire. He also held Colesborne of the Bishop of Worcester.

We find by a return relating to the towns of Gloucester and Winchcombe, not later than 1101, that Walter was already viscount, and the burgh rents amounted to 46*l.*, of which Walter the viscount had 64s. 'de rogatu,' and the provost 40s. In the time of the viscount Roger the rents had been 38*l.* 4s. It appears by the same document that Walter de Gloucester had then 15 burgess tenants in Gloucester though his uncle had only four in 1086. In 1106, while the abbacy of Gloucester was vacant by the death of Serlo, the church of St. Helen, at Alveston, with a virgate of land there, was given by Walter, the viscount, and confirmed to the monks. Afterwards, during Abbot Peter's rule (1105-13) 'Walter, the viscount of Gloucester,' further gave the monks the church of Cerney with its tithes; Berta, his wife, and Milo, his son, consenting.

In the genealogy of the founder of Bergavenny priory, Walter is styled "Constable of all England in the time of Henry I., and had the castles of Gloucester and Hereford in his custody." The latter statement is more likely to be correct than the former, though the Bohuns, as representing the eldest daughter and coheir of Earl Milo, certainly held this high hereditary office, together with Caldicot Castle. Milo, Walter's son, is styled "Constabularius regis" in the charter of Henry I. granting him Bicanofre (English Bicknor). The monk of Llanthony called Walter "Constabularius, princeps militiæ domûs regiæ, vir magnus et potens et inter primos regni præcipue honoratus." There is no doubt he was a very influential personage in the time of Henry I., and much in the king's favour, as three royal grants show. The first, dated at Brussels, gave him the lands of the canons of St. Oswald before the castle of Gloucester. The second,

dated at Portsmouth, granted him all the land of Edric, son of Ketel, the king's thane, who had been allowed to retain lands in Baunton and Alkerton which his father had in the days of Edward the Confessor, as we learn from the Survey. The third royal charter, dated at Winchester, granted 'Walter de Gloucester free warren in all his lands.[1]

Among the ancient charters of the duchy of Lancaster is an original deed of Walter de Gloucester, notifying that he has given to William de Mara, "his nephew," Hereford Parva, to be held by the service of two knights, but as it had previously been settled by Walter and Milo his son in dower on Sybil, Milo's wife, they gave her Bardsley in exchange. A sister of Walter would appear to have been William's mother. In the genealogy of the founders of their house, the monks of Abergavenny wrote that "to Walter, as his cousin, Brian fitz Count relinquished, when he took the cross and went to Jerusalem, the lands of Over-went, which included Abergavenny, and that Walter long enjoyed the same." (Mon. Angl. I., p. 557.)

In the Pipe Roll for Gloucester of 1131, we find Milo, as Sheriff of the County, accounting for the revenues of the crown. So prior to this date had happened that event which the historian of Llanthony Abbey records; that Walter, tired of the pomps and vanities of the world had renounced them and assumed the habit of a canon in that house. Here he died, and was buried in the chapter house, of Llantony.[2] He had given the canons the church and a moiety of his land at Barington, no doubt on the occasion of his being admitted into the house.

According to Glover the Herald, Walter's wife was Emma, daughter of Drogo de Baladun, lord of Abergavenny, but there is no proof of his statement, and Berta occurs as Walter's wife. It seems he had some claim to the barony of Abergavenny, or at least a share of it with Brian fitz Count, his cousin, who is sup-

[1] The original charters are preserved among the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster.

[2] See Addendum to the Memoir on St. Briavel's Castle.—Trans. Vol. III., pp, 364, 367.

posed to have married the daughter of Milo Crispin, in whose right he was lord of Wallingford. A sketch of the life so full of incident of Walter's son, Milo the Constable and Earl of Hereford, is beyond the scope of this paper.[1]

LVII.—WALTERVS DIACONVS.

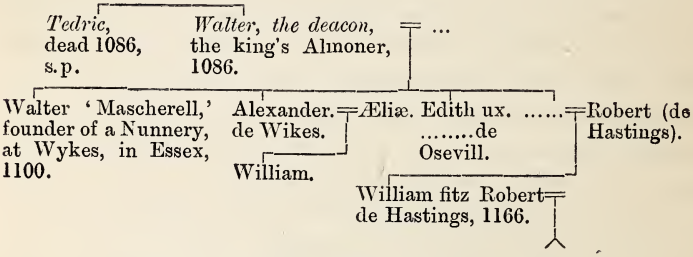
Walter, the deacon, was holding 4 hides and-a-half in Seisincote. This was not all this ecclesiastic possessed, if we may be justified in inferring that whenever 'Walter, the deacon,' is mentioned in the Survey the same person is always referred to. In that case, he was also a tenant *in capite* in Essex and Suffolk, as well as holding lands of the Richard fitz Gilbert in his barony of Clare, in the latter county. These lands he seems to have inherited, in part, from Tedric, or Theodoric, 'his brother,' as the Survey styles him. Under the Bishop of Thetford he held no less than eleven carucates of land in Stratton, in Norfolk, the largest amount he held in any one place (II., fo. 193). In Dorset he occurs more fully styled 'Walter, the deacon, the king's almoner,' holding of the king three hides in 'Cernel.' This proves him to have been a high and trusty royal official. There are other interesting particulars about him, given incidentally, which show that, in all probability he was one of those Normans brought over by Edward the Confessor. Lands in Wikes, in Essex, which he held in demesne, had, it appears, been given him, after the coming of King William, by Queen Edeua (widow of Edward the Confessor) (II., fo. 87), also, evidently, other lands in which he succeeded the Queen, which in the Survey is not so explicitly shewn. In those days, though the celebacy of the clergy was encouraged, it was not enforced, especially in the minor orders. Walter was a married man, for, at Wikes, "Walter 'Mascherell,' Alexander, his brother, and Edith, his sister, children of Walter the *dean* (decanus), founded a Benedictine Nunnery in the time of Henry I.[2] Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., in an elaborate paper on "The Rise and Race of Hastings,"[3] brings forward evidence which he considers proves,

[1] For some particulars relating to him, see Trans., Vol. III., pp. 325-364, sub. *St. Briavel's Castle.*

[2] Mon. Angl., new ed. IV., p. 513.

[3] Archæol. Journal, XXVI., p. 122.

as it certainly appears to do, that the great family of this name descended from the son Walter, and another line, which soon ended in an heiress from Robert 'Maskerel' whom he makes the eldest son of the deacon, because he had the fief. Now William fitz Robert, or 'de Hastings,' certainly calls Walter and Alexander, "avunculi mei," but they may have been rather his *mother's* brothers, which 'avunculi' must be taken to mean without proof to the contrary, as the word 'patruus' was still in use. The daughter Edith, from her name, was probably a god-daughter of the queen. She had been the wife of a Norman knight named de Osevill.



LVIII.—WALTERVS BALISTARIVS.

Walter, the balistarius, had Tovi's lands in Bully and Rodley, and five hides in Frampton (-Cotterell), which had been part of the great estate of Alestan of Boscumbe, which William de Eu, with this exception, had acquired; probably he had granted this to Walter.

The balistarii,[1] were the military engineers of those days, and chiefly engaged in working the balistæ and other missile-discharging machines, used both in defending and attacking castles

[1] Eight balistarii occur in Domesday, and a few Ingeniatores, or Engineers, namely, those who devised these machines as well as other military apparatus. Odo, balistarius of York, named in the Survey, is styled in the Index List, 'arbalistarius,' which is different, and means a cross-bowman.

Ivo de Creuil, ancestor of the counts of Belesme, was *magister balistarum* to Hugh the great, Duke of Paris, and Louis d'Outremer. Balistæ were known to the ancients and extensively used by the Romans. The architect Vitruvius minutely describes their construction, Lib. x., c. xvii. 'De balistarum rationibus.'

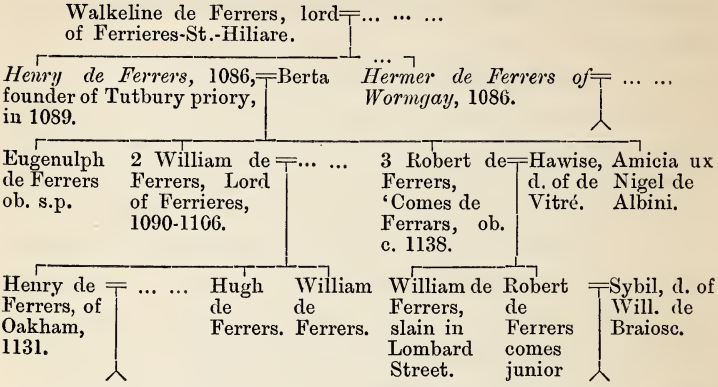
and town walls before the artillery of fire which superseded them, The sergeanty of holding lands by the service of working these engines of war, when necessary, was not uncommon at a much later date.

LIX—HENRICVS DE FERIERES.

Henry de Ferrières was lord of Ferrieres-St.-Hiliare, near Bernai, in Normandy, a place so called from the iron mines and works there which must have been a source of great profit to his family. He was the son of Walkeline de Ferrers who perished, together with his antagonist, Hugh de Montfort, in a desperate fight in one of the first of those private feuds that took place in the lawless times of the duke's minority. So Henry was, in all probability, as old, if not older than the Conqueror. He came over with him and is mentioned by Wace as one of those present in the battle. We may imagine him better furnished with ready money, from the returns of his iron-works, than most of his contemporaries. It is curious that he did not seek to acquire any of those iron districts in England, as the Forest of Dean, because some of the persons he brought over with him might have been experienced enough to work them. Henry seems to have been immediately granted the manor of Lechlade, in Gloucestershire, twenty manors in Berks, seven in Oxfordshire, besides a few others in the southern counties; but it was not until Hugh de Avranches was created Earl of Chester in 1071, that he was endowed with so great an estate as that of over one hundred manors in Derbyshire and Staffordshire, relinquished by the earl by arrangement on receiving the palatinate of Chester. Tutbury Castle was made the head of this great barony, either by Henry himself or his predecessor, and near it, in 1089, following the example of most of his contemporaries, he founded and endowed a Benedictine priory, having obtained the authority of King William, the younger, when at Marlborough. In his charter he names Berta, his wife, his sons, Eugenulph, William, and Robert, but not his daughters; one of the latter, however, was Amicia, the wife of Nigel de Albini.

There is nothing to record of Henry in connection with this county except the fact that, if it were, as Mr. Eyton thinks,

included in the same group as Worcestershire, &c., then he had been one of the commissioners conducting the great Survey.



Lechlade, or Lechland, had belonged to Siward Bar; there were fifteen hides taxed, but five of these the king freed of the tax when he granted it, as the county jury, and he who bore the king's seal, testify. Two burgesses in Winchcombe held of this manor.

Eugenulph seems to have died s.p. William succeeded to the fief in Normandy, and, according to Mr. Stapleton, was the grandfather of Walkeline de Ferrieres, lord of Ferrieres and also of Oakham, in England, who granted Lechlade, in Gloucestershire, to Hugh de Ferrers, his younger son.

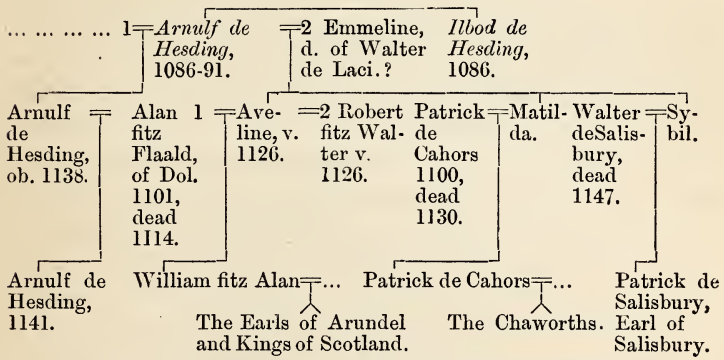
Robert, who seems to have been Henry's youngest son, had all the lands in England, except, it would seem, Lechlade, and appears to have been made Earl of Nottingham or Derby, or both, the Earls of Ferrers and Derby being his descendants.[1]

LX.—ERNVLFVS DE HESDING.

Arnulph de Hesding evidently came from Hesding in Picardy, within the territory of the counts of Flanders. A brother, named

[1] The earls bore, *vairé, or, and gules*, but the last earl but one (ob. 1254) used also a *bordure of horseshoes*, either in allusion to the name, or to retain in his arms the more ancient device of the family, one or more horseshoes, perhaps a single one and nail, the type of the seal used by Walter le Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, whose sister, strangely enough, was countess of Ferrers and Derby, though this would not account for his using these emblems. The Heraldry of Ferrers is itself, alone, a subject for a long and interesting paper.

Ilbod, had come over with him, and was holding lands at Barford, in Oxfordshire. Although I cannot find anything about him before he left France, he must have been a man of rank and influence. There is, however, no evidence that he was the original grantee, or, indeed, held any of his great estate otherwise than in right of his wife. We find him in possession of lands in no fewer than eleven of the southern counties, besides being a tenant of the Bishop of Bayeux. His fief in Gloucestershire was afterwards the barony of Kempsford, consisting of twelve knights' fees. At Kempsford he had no less than twenty-one hides which Osgod had held of Earl Harold. His other lands in this county were at Hatherop, Amney, Oldbury, (on-the-Hill), Badminton, Acton (-Turvill) and at Hanham, near Bitton, the last being held of him by one Humbald, the only tenant named.



Arnulf de Hesding was a great benefactor to the monks of Gloucester, giving them the church of Kempsford with its tithes and the glebe, the church of Hatherop with the glebe and a mill. He gave them the half hide in Ampney which Tovi had held. Nor was this all, for he bestowed on them Lynkeholt, on the feast of the Purification B.V.M., 1081, at Old Sarum, apparently when attending court, for the king not only consented but, with the queen and others, witnessed the charter.[1] We find him again at Sarum, ten years after, when Rufus was holding his court there, among the many who witnessed the charter of Osmond, the Bishop, settling the endowment of the see, 1091.[2]

[1] Hist. et. Cart. Mon. S. Petri de Glouc., Vol. 1., pp. 93, 389.

[2] Mon. Angl. (new ed.) Vol. II., p. 226.

Arnulf de Hesding had the manors of Riselip and Kingsbury, in Middlesex, parcel of the lands of the thane, Wluuard Wit, whose possessions were in his hands, seven hides in Hatherop, in Gloucestershire, among the rest. Riselip, Arnulf gave, apparently after 1086, to the Abbey of Bec, and Emmeline, his wife, gave the manor of Combe, in Hants, to the same house. Combe belonged to Arnulph at the date of the Survey. Emmeline was, however, evidently a lady of high rank; and, I suspect, partly, if not wholly, the cause of Arnulph's position and great estate, granting lands in her husband's lifetime. As "Emeline, wife of Ernulf de Hestink," she gave to the monks of Gloucester, for the health of her lord, herself, her father and mother, as if all living, the church of (Chipping)-Norton (Oxfordshire), with its appurtenances, free of all service, and as she desires that they may well and in peace hold it, she confirms with her own seal. I have not discovered, with certainty, who she was, perhaps Walter de Laci's d. Ermeline, but her three daughters and co-heirs, apparently by Arnulf, took the whole of the lands which *seem* to have been his in 1086, his own son and heir, Arnulf de Hesding was excluded. Arnulf, died in the reign of Rufus, and his son Arnulf was hanged at Shrewsbury by King Stephen, in 1138, for having prolonged the defence of the castle after William fitz Alan, sheriff of the County, and constable of the Castle, *whose uncle he was*, had privately withdrawn, and the town would have accepted the king's moderate terms. Of the daughters and co-heirs of Emmeline, Aveline, with her husband, Robert fitz Walter, confirmed in 1126 to the monks of Gloucester, the gift of Norton "made long before by her mother 'Elmeline.'" Mr. Eyton[1] has shown that she had a previous husband, Alan fitz Flaald, by whom she had William fitz Alan, (mentioned above as nephew of Arnulph,) ancestor of the Earls of Arundel, and of the Stuarts, Kings of Scotland. Another daughter and co-heir was Matilda, wife of Patrick de Cahors,[2] who was certainly in possession of Kempsford

[1] Her. and Gen., Vol. VI., p. 241.

[2] Cahors is in Guienne, this is the name, Anglicised 'Chaworth.' Patrick was the ancestor of the Chaworths of Annesley, Notts. The heiress of this junior line was she whom Byron once called "his bright star of Annesley."

before 1100, as Rufus confirmed his gift of 3 mills there to the monks of Gloucester, and his name appears in the list of those who had tenants in the town of Gloucester before 1101—the seven burgesses who held of that manor, as in Domesday (ante. p. 92.) Another portion of this barony was in the possession, in 1166, of Patrick Earl of Salisbury, being the heritage of his mother, who was Sybil, wife of Walter of Salisbury. She, therefore, was another daughter and co-heir of Emmeline.

LXI.—HERALDVS FILIVS RADVLFI COMITIS.

Harold, son of Earl Ralph, holds Sudeley of the king, and Ralph, his father, held it (in the time of King Edward). The same Harold holds Toddington; his father held it. These two manors are and were worth £40.

Harold was the only son, as far as we know, of Ralph, Earl of Herefordshire, nephew of Edward the Confessor and in all probability named after him, and a godson of King Harold. Earl Ralph was the elder son of the Countess Goda, sister of King Edward, by her first husband, Drogo Count of French Vexin, who died of poison in Bithynia in June, 1035, on his way to the Holy land with Robert Duke of Normandy. Ralph came to England when his uncle became king and obtained the office of Earl of Herefordshire. This post was no sinecure, and having to lead the men of the shire against Earl Algar and the Welsh, "the cowardly son of the king's sister," says Florence of Worcester, suffered a defeat, the earl, with his French and Normans, being the first to flee. This took place near Hereford on 24 Oct., 1055. The earl died on 21 Dec., 1057, and was buried in Peterborough Abbey (Anglo-Sax. Chron.)

It appears that at the time of Edward the Confessor's death, in January, 1066, Harold, son of Earl Ralph, was a minor, and in the wardship of Queen Edith, who was, in right of this, in possession of the manor of Eia, in Middlesex, now Ebury Street. She leased, or granted this manor in fee, for £3 per annum to William the chamberlain, who, after her death in 1074, continued to hold it in the same manner of the king, until 1082 four years

before the Survey, when it lapsed. Harold never got this estate though he must have come of age some years before, and we find Geoffrey de Mandeville the possessor of Eia in 1086.

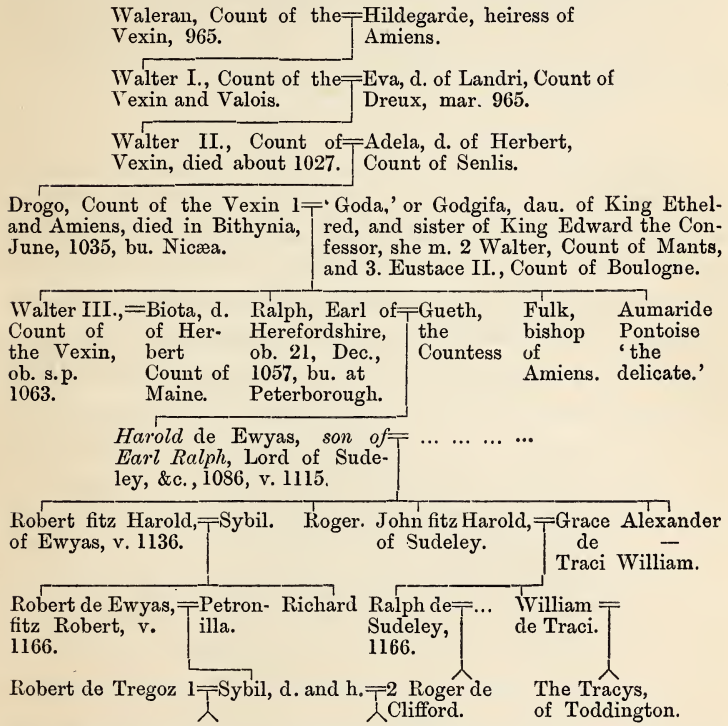
Harold being a minor his hereditary right to the earldom was in abeyance, for the time at least, but it is evident he came to terms with the Conqueror, though he had no chance of the dignity under such altered circumstances, being an office which especially required a trusty soldier and statesman of great tact and experience. The lands in various counties of the "Countess Goda," his grandmother, can be distinguished in the Survey, but he had succeeded to none of them. In this county she had had lands at Hawling, near Sudely, Hasleden, Yanworth, obtained by Sigar de Cioches; Horsley, which King William gave to the abbey of St. Martin, at Troarz; and (Minchin)hampton, given to the nuns of Caen. She married, secondly, Walter II., Count of Mantes (dead 1051), and thirdly Eustace II., aux Grenons, Count of Boulogne, but the date of her decease is not recorded. She gave the lands in Hawling to Winchcombe Abbey.

Harold's mother was also dead. Her name occurs in the Survey as 'Gethe, wife of Earl Ralph,' and as the Countess Gueth, having held lands in Bucks in the reign of King Edward.[1]

Besides Sudeley and Toddington, in this county, Harold had a manor each in Worcestershire and Berks, and lands in Warwickshire. At Ewyas, in Herefordshire, still, from him, called Ewyas Harold, the earthworks of the burgh were utilised for a regular castle, either by William fitz Osbern, by Alured of Marlborough who held it at the date of the Survey, or by Harold, who appears to have succeeded him. 'Harold de Ewyas' afterwards gave to Gloucester Abbey the church of St. Michael at Ewyas, with it

[1] Mr. Planché is of opinion that the '*Earl* Ralph,' mentioned in Domesday as the father of Ralph de Guader, made by the Conqueror Earl of Norfolk, was identical with the Confesor's nephew. Mr. Freeman, on the contrary, would identify him with Ralph the Staller. If Mr. Planché be right, then the Countess Gueth would have been the heiress of Gauder, in Brittany. "The Conqueror and his Companions," II. p. 5.

land and tithes, the chapel of St. Nicholas, within "my Castle," the tithes of the demesnes of his castle of Ewyas, and the churches of his honor, on the condition there should be always monks there praising God, and praying for the souls of the founder and his family. This was confirmed by Bernard, Bishop of Menevia (St. David's, 1115-47) in chapter, at Ewyas. Robert, the founder's son



and heir gave his consent, and his other sons there present were Roger, *John*, Alexander, and William.[1] The priory of Ewyas remained a cell to Gloucester Abbey. Although surviving in 1115, when Harold de Ewyas died is not recorded, but his son and heir, Robert fitz Harold,[2] succeeded to the Honor of Ewyas, confirmed

[1] Hist. et Cart. Mon. S. Petri de Glou., vol. I., pp. 285-287.

[2] It is this Robert fitz Harold who is mentioned in that vigorous and graphic fragment, "Gesta Stephani," as "a man of the noblest descent," who, in 1136, being engaged against the Welsh, gained a victory over them, and after making a deserted castle impregnable, left a chosen

his father's gifts, and with consent of Sybil, his wife, gave lands in Burnham. Robert d'Ewyas fitz Robert made return of the knights' fees of his barony and castelary in 1166. His wife's name was Petronilla, and he left a daughter and heir, Sybil, wife of 1, Robert de Tregoz, 2, Roger de Clifford. John fitz Harold, the younger son of Harold of Ewyas, obtained, it would appear, for himself and his heirs, the manors of Sudeley and Toddington and some other lands in Warwickshire, either from his father or elder brother, and they were severed from the barony.

LXII.—HUGO DE GRENTMAISNIL.

Hugh de Grentmesnil had been one of the magnates of Normandy before the expedition, and must, in 1086, have been a man advanced in years. We have a full account of him and his family by the graphic pen of Odericus, a monk of the abbey of St. Evroult, to which Hugh, the joint founder was so liberal a benefactor. Grentmênil, near Lisieux, he inherited from his father, Robert. This name signifies *Grent's* small house, maisnil, being the diminutive of maison, but 'Grandmesnil,' as it is usually spelt, incorrectly, suggests another meaning. Before the Conquest we find Hugh castellan of Neufmarché-en-Lions. He appears to have been present in the Battle of Hastings, Wace styling him 'the vassal of Grandmesnil.' He would, probably, have lost his life in the melée had not his horse, taking fright, carried him back among the Normans. His rank and influence are clearly shown by the fact that he was one of those intrusted by the Conqueror with the regency when he returned next year to Normandy. Soon after, if not before, this Hugh received his allotment, over a hundred manors, of which considerably more than half was in Leicestershire. To that county he belongs rather than to this, but in Gloucestershire he had the lands of a certain Baldwin, being twelve hides in Queinton and four in Weston-(under-Edge), which one Roger held of him. Besides this he had land in Pebworth, and (Broad-)Marston, and Wilcote, the last held of him by

garrison, resolute to hold out to the last, and returned to England with a few followers to recruit his forces. The castle was immediately invested by a large body of the enemy, and after a long siege the garrison was obliged, by famine, to surrender.

his clerk, whose name will presently occur. He had several other manors in midland counties. Adelisa, his wife, had lands of her own, a separate estate, in her husband's lifetime, evidently by crown grant, these were at Broxbourne, formerly Archbishop Stigand's, therefore not given to her before 1071, and others in Warwickshire. Her daughter, Adelisa (or Adeline), wife of Roger de Ivri, had also lands of her own, as appears by Domesday.

Hugh who, with his brother Robert and his uncles William and Robert fitz Giroie, had been at the expense of rebuilding the church of the Abbey of St. Evroult, made a liberal grant of churches and tithes to the monks, out of the immense estate in England which fortune had added to his patrimony. Among the rest, Wilcote, in this county, and whatever Hugh, the clerk of Sap, held under him in England. These were given with the king's licence, and Abbot Mainer, being in England, obtained a charter from the king confirming all the donations his monastery had acquired in this country. This grant was dated at Winchester 1081, probably at the festival of Easter generally held in that city. Hugh witnessed it, with his nephew Robert of Rhuddlan.

Hugh survived the Conqueror and then espoused the side of Duke Robert until disappointed with him. So late as 1090 we find him and Richard de Courci, though both were old men, taking the field against so formidable an opponent as their turbulent neighbour the Count of Belesme. The January following, the count, who had obtained the assistance of Duke Robert, laid siege to the castle of Courci-sur-Dive, and determined to use every effort to take the fortress without delay. He had a 'berfroid,'[1] or tower, on wheels built, and advanced to the walls, but whenever an assault was made Hugh appeared in the *rear* of the besiegers. He was, however, too aged to take an active part; that, the loss of his son Ivo, and the wearisome protraction of the siege, made him indite a

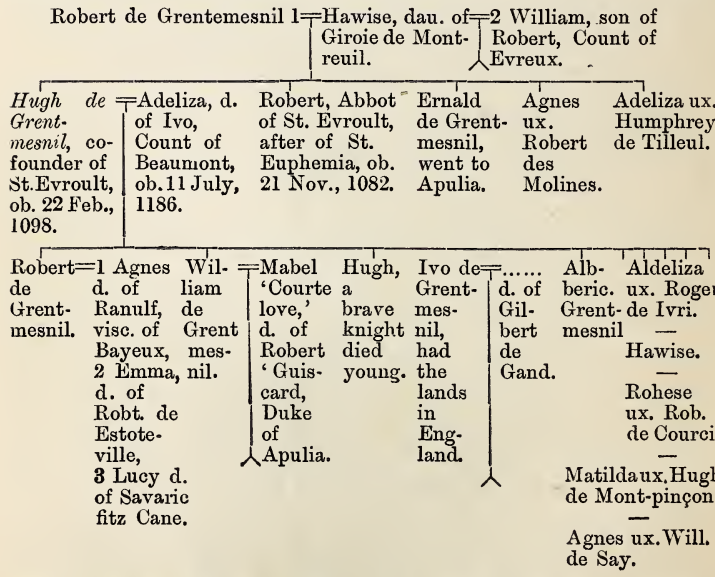
[1] This word is the original of our word 'belfry,' which has nothing to do with 'bells.' For these towers, see the graphic ideal sketches of sieges, by the lately deceased eminent French architect and archæologist, Viollet le-Duc, in his "Dict. de l'Architecture," Vol. I., pp. 363-5; and "Annals of a Fortress," of which there is an English edition, as well as a reprint of the articles on Military Architecture from the Dictionary.

complaint to the duke, which Ordericus (VII., xvi) has preserved, offering him 200 livres to withdraw for one day from assisting the count, when they would be evenly matched for a final issue. The appearance of King William, however, before long, caused the besiegers suddenly to decamp.

Hugh returned to England, and, being very aged and infirm, spent his few remaining days in a cloister. Taking to his bed he died six days after, on the feast of St. Peter in Cathedrâ, 22nd Feb., 1093. His body, salted and sewn up in an ox hide, two monks of St. Evroult, doubtless by his desire, bore all the way to their solitary and remote church. They interred the body in the chapter house, and his nephew, Arnold of Rhuddlan, afterwards had a marble slab laid on his coffin with a rhyming Latin epitaph, penned by Ordericus himself, wherein the deceased is described as

"*Hostibus horribilis et amicis tutor herilis.*"

Adeliza, his wife, daughter of Ivo, Count of Beamont-sur-Oise,



had, it appears, died at Rouen, seven years before, on 11th July, (108ó). She bore him six sons and as many daughters, whose fates were subject to the fleeting changes of human affairs. The

sons were in person tall and handsome, as well as of great courage, but fortune persecuted them, and of them all Robert alone enjoyed a long life, or a continuance of peace and prosperity. See Ordericus.

LXIII.—HUGO LASNE.

Hugh l'Asne, or 'Asinus,' as his name is once written in the Survey (fo. 177B), seems to have been only known by his opprobrious nickname. How he came by it does not appear, it might have already become a meaningless surname, distinguishing his family. But the Normans seem to have had a propensity for giving most undignified epithets to persons who appear to have not only been exclusively known by such but were obliged, for the sake of identity, to use these themselves in documents[1]. As early as 1046, twenty years before the conquest, William fitz Osbern had founded an abbey at Lyre, and we find "Hugo Asino" witnessing the charter of William fitz Osbern, when Earl of Hereford, granting the monks their lands in England (Gallia Chr. XI., Instr., p. 123). He was also one of the witnesses to the charter of William confirming to the abbey of St. Evroult the gifts of Fulk, late Dean of Evreux (Ord. Vit. V., XII.) He was, in all probability, a feudatory of that baron in Normandy, and a man advanced in years at the time of the Survey. He was surviving 1095-1101, as his name as 'Hugo Asinus' occurs in the list of those who had tenants in the towns of Gloucester and Winchcombe. (ante p.92). He evidently came over with William fitz Osbern and settled in the west under him, and on the Welch marches was actively employed in the defence of the border under his lord, now Earl of Hereford. In the county of Hereford he held *in capite*, Kentchester and some twenty other manors, in which 'his original feoffer,' says Mr. Eyton, seems to have been William fitz Osbern, the earl.[2] At the date of the Survey he was claiming the great lordship of Radnor, then held by the king, declaring to the commissioners that when Earl William gave him the lands of Turchil, he also gave him Raddrenove (ff. 181 and 7). Hugh also held

[1] He never occurs as '*de* Lasne,' so could not have derived his name from Lasne, near Argentan, as has been suggested.

[2] Hist. of Shropshire, Vol. XI., p. 346.

Knighton and Norton, which the Survey included in Shropshire. Turchil, whose lands in Herefordshire were granted to Hugh, had held Brockworth, in Gloucestershire, of King Edward. This, Hugh acquired with the rest. He also obtained, in this county, the lands of Wluuard, in Shipton, Salperton, and Bagendon; one Gilbert held of him the last named. He, probably, did not become a tenant in capite until the forfeiture of Roger, the second Earl of Hereford, in 1074.

All we know about his family is that he had a daughter, who seems to have been a nun at the Abbey of St. Mary, at Winchester, for that church held lands of him at Kennet, in Wilts, "*pro filiâ eius*" (fo.73.)

LXIV.—MILO CRISPIN.

Milo Crispin was, in all probability, a member of the influential family of Crispin of Bec-Crispin, descended from one who was so called on account of his curly hair, but nothing more explicit than this can be said.

The great estate we find by Domesday in the possession of Milo was chiefly in Buckinghamshire, with lands in Oxfordshire, Wilts, and three manors in Gloucestershire. The lands of Wigod of Wallingford, a great and powerful thane in King Edward's reign, were, seemingly, divided between Milo and Robert d'Oyly. It has been said Robert married Wigod's daughter and had a daughter and heir, who was wife, first, of Milo Crispin, secondly of Brian fitz Count. Chronology makes this much less probable than that Milo had married another daughter of Wigod, although Milo's wife had the name of Matilda, which does not favour the supposition. Milo had all Wigod's lands in Gloucestershire, three virgates in Bruerne, and one hide in Alderley. He had, beside, two hides in Charington, parcel of the estates of the thane Haming of Marlow.

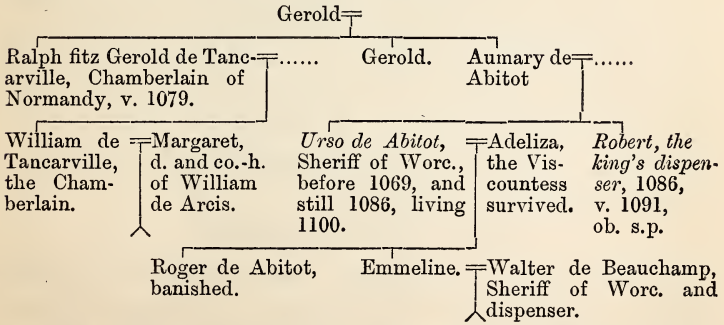
He survived the Conqueror, and is found occasionally witnessing charters both of Rufus and Henry I., indicating that he had been stedfast in his loyalty. We find him and Earl Alan with Rufus at Lanercost, in Cumberland, 1st January (1089 ?) as they, alone, witnessed that king's charter for the Abbot of St. Mary's, York.

He died in 1107 (Flor : Wig.) no doubt without issue. That same year, for service which Abbot Farice had done him in his infirmity, he gave the monks of Abingdon a hospice on the London road, at Colebrock, sending Gilbert Pipard, his dapifer, and Warin, his chaplain, to place his gift upon the altar of St. Mary. Brian fitz Count seems to have succeeded to Milo's fief, perhaps by marrying his widow.

LXV.—VRSO DE ABITOT.

Urso d'Abitot, or de Wirecestre as he is also called in Domesday Book, was the viscount, or sheriff, of Worcestershire, wherein he earned an evil notoriety which lasted long after he was dead. All he had in Gloucestershire was a hide of land in Seisincote, parcel of the estate of Eluuin, which had been granted him, and he is once more mentioned :—Urso, the sheriff, has so oppressed the tenants on the virgate of land at (Droit)wich belonging to Brictric's late manor of Sodbury, that they cannot now pay the salt due from them. This is not the only instance of his rapacity, and the lands of the see of Worcester and of the abbeys of Evesham and Pershore, were systematically despoiled by him without redress. His brother Robert, the king dispenser, aided and abetted him. Urso gave lands belonging to the see in dowry with his own daughter, despite remonstrance and appeal.

He, however, marched to Worcester in 1074 to support Bishop Wulfstan against Roger Earl of Hereford, who had risen in rebellion, whom they defeated and routed.



Urso is said to have drawn upon himself the wrath of Archbishop Aldred of York, to whom the Bishop of Worcester was

then a suffragan, by encroaching on the sanctuary of the canons on the south side of the church of Worcester with some works in connection with the castle. The archbishop excommunicated him, predicting that unless they were removed his posterity should not long hold any land of the church. His curse is preserved in the form of a couplet.

Hightest thou, Urse !
Have thou God's curse.

He was living in the early years of Henry I.'s reign, and, being found witnessing several royal charters, would appear to be still in royal favour.

The date of his death is not recorded. 'Athelisa,' the viscountess, his wife evidently, witnessed his charter to Malvern priory. Roger d'Abitot, his son, having killed one of the household of Henry I. was banished, and the Archbishop's curse seemed in part fulfilled, but Emmeline, Roger's sister, was wife of Walter de Beauchamp, who obtained the fief of Urso and the shrievalty of Worcestershire, which Henry I. confirmed to him, together with the office of one of the king's dispensers which Robert brother of Urso had formerly held, and the land given him by Adeliza, the widow of Urso. Redmarley d'Abitot, near Ledbury, preserves in remembrance the name of Urso to this day. Urso must have had his name from Abbetot, near Havre, where there is a very curious Romanesque church of early date, referred, indeed, to the first half of the eleventh century, with a crypt and wall paintings. In this Urso might even have been baptised. Ralph fitz Gerold de Tancarville, chamberlain of Normandy, gave the church and tithes of Abitot—shewing that he was lord of the fief—in 1005 to the canons of S. George de Boscherville, another ancient church still existing. M. D'Anisy says that Urso was probably son of Aumary d'Abitot, younger brother of Ralph, and, therefore, another son of Gerold.

LXVI.—HASCOIT MVSARD.

Hascoit Musard was evidently a Breton from the unfamiliar christian name[1] he bore, often mistaken for Asculph; once so

[1] This name is more usually written 'Harscoid.' Harscoid de S. Cruce occurs in Brittany as early as 1008. Harscoid, sire de Raiz, said to have

written even in the Survey, and used afterwards by his descendants. He was, in all probability, the elder brother of Enisan Musard,[1] a vassal of Earl Alan, who held under him several manors in Yorkshire, and of Hugh Musard, of whom all that can be found in the Survey is that he had certain houses in the town of Stamford.

Their surname is a soubriquet of the same class as 'Giffard,' and, like it, already seems to have become a meaningless family surname. 'Musard' means 'one who muses,' literally a 'muser,' a dull lazy fellow, loitering about with open mouth. This word became familar in England, and was used in this sense by Chaucer, but has long become obsolete.

In Gloucestershire, Hascoit had a grant of the lands of Ernesi, in Greenhampstead, Eyford, Aston(-Somerville), and Siddington, besides a manor in Saintbury of ten hides, and one hide in Seisincote. In Oxfordshire he had four manors. MAIN, a Breton from his name, being his tenant at Keddington.

In Derbyshire, "Ascuit" Musard had the lands of Hacon, in Staveley and Barley, besides three other manors. Staveley was, it seems, the caput of the barony of his heirs. In Bucks he had Quainton, which one Eudo held of him. In Warwickshire he held Lunnington besides three others held of him by a certain Humfrid. But Hascoit kept most of his manors in his own hands, and he must have spent his time alternately in Gloucestershire and Derbyshire. At Greenhampstead, a name now lost, one of the early Musards, in not Hascoit himself, built after themselves.[2] The village and parish is still known only as "the castle of Musarderé," as it was named, or they called it

Hascuit Muard, 1086. = ... *Enisan Musard*, Yorks, 1086. | *Hugh Musard*, 1086.

Richard Musard, dead 1166. = ...widow v. 1166.

Hascuit Musard, 1166, ob., 1185. = Joan.

been his grandson, was the ancestor of the family of de Raiz, who kept up the name long after.

[1] See an account of Enisan in Yorkshire Archæol. Journal, vol V., p. 299.

[2] It was here John Musard, the last male of the family but one, was born on the festival of St. Wulfstan, or the octaves of St. Hillary, next after the seige of Kenilworth Castle, in other words, 19th January, 1266-7.

'Miserden.' All else I can find about Hascoit is the statement that he became a monk at Ely.

We have no certain information about his family until 1166, when "Hascuit" Musard, who will have been grandson, or great grandson, of him of Domesday Book, made return of his barony as twelve knights' fees, all of the old feoffment, and that the wife of Richard Musard held of him two fees in dower of the new.[1] This Hascuit's son Ralph Musard was sheriff of Gloucestershire, 17 and 18 John, and from 1 to 9 Henry III., and afterwards a Justice in Eyre. His seal bears a shield with three annulets, two and one. The male line became extinct in 1300.[2]

LXVII.—TVRSTINVS FILIVS ROLF.

Unless there was another Thurstun living at this date, also son of a Rolf, this must be Toustain fitz Rou le Blanc,[3] who was chosen at the last moment on the field of battle to bear the gonfanon, or penon, of the duke, after the standard-bearer, Ralph de Conches, had excused himself that he might fight more freely, and Walter Gifard had pleaded his grey hairs and his shortness of breath, as well as the necessity of leading his own followers into action. Toustain fitz Rou, young and vigorous, grasped the shaft, and, raising it boldly, bore it, the penon waving high aloft in the breeze, and rode beside the duke, going wherever he went, says Wace, turned whenever he turned, and wheresoever he stayed his course, there Toustain stayed his also. For this, there can be no doubt, after the successful issue of this memorable conflict, Thurstan was liberally rewarded with lands. His kindred, we are told, had quittance of all (military) service for their inheritance on that account, but this seems to refer to lands in

[1] Liber Niger I., p. 225.

[2] A pedigree of the Musards is given in Coll. Top. et Gen. vol. IV., p. 2.

[3] It is clear that in 1066 there was another Toustain fitz Rou, by his being styled 'le Blanc,' one or other of them was probably of the family of the viscounts of the Avranchin, in which these names both occur, and the Turstin fil. Rollonis, who had witnessed the charter of William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, to the abbey at Lyre (Gallia, Chr. XI., Instr., p. 123). Rolf, Rou, or Rollo, must not be confounded with Ralf, Raoul, or Radulphus. Toustain is the Norman-French of Turstinus; a name as familiar in England as in Normandy before the conquest, in the form of Thorstan.

Normandy; anyhow, the Survey does not state that this barony was so exempted. That the standard-bearer at Hastings should be living twenty years afterwards is not at all unlikely, and this is the only Turstin fitz Rolf named in the Survey. This identity must, however, be left as merely a suggestion, of which, it seems, there can be no proof. Toustain fitz Rou le Blanc was a native of Bec, that Bec, for distinction, called "aux Cauchois," near Havre, according to M. le Prévost, and not "Bec Crispin,' which led Mr. Grimaldi to make him a grandson of Crispin lord of that place. A noble family of Normandy claims descent from Toustain.

To proceed with what is known of this Gloucestershire tenant, we find he had seven manors in this county, two of these being in Ampney; one in Oakley, near Cirencester, had belonged to Brictric the same thane, no doubt, whose lands in Herefordshire, Dorsetshire, and at Kemble Parva, in Bucks, Thurstan also acquired. He was holding, also, in this county, lands of the See of Worcester in Gotherington, and Austerclive. In Oxfordshire, he was a tenant of Walter Gifard, and was, perhaps, the Turstan who held lands in that county under Bishop Odo. He had other manors in Bucks, Somerset and Wilts.

In that large portion of Monmouthshire, which seems, at the date of the Survey and before the formation of that county, to have been included within the Sheriffwick of Gloucester, and is described immediately after the account of the town of Gloucester, it appears Turstin fitz Rolf had possessions of considerable extent between the Usk and the Wye. These lands were probably wrested from the Welsh rather than granted to him, the Survey stating that part was claimed by the king's bailiff, saying that Turstin had taken them without gift. He kept lands in demesne, and had vassals holding the rest. The same Turstin had also six carucates of land beyond the Usk, with a mill and a moiety of a fishery. Was this at the town of Usk, and possibly he was the founder of the outpost castle there? He had, probably, assisted in the subjugation of this district under William fitz Osbern when that commander directed a castle to be built at Striguil as the key

to South Wales, and as the great military centre and depôt for those holding lands by the service of defence of the border.

It appears not improbable that Payn de Turbeville, one of those who helped Robert fitz Hamon in the conquest of Glamorganshire, was, if not a son, nearly related to Turstin fitz Rolf.[1]

The fief of Turstin fitz Rou, in 1166 was in the possession of Henry Newmarch, but in what way it came to him is not apparent.

One GIRVIUS (or GIRIOE) held the hide in Oakley, of Turstin; and BERNARD, his tenant at Hilsley, was evidently that Bernard, surnamed 'Pancevolt,' who held Cadbury and Dunkerton, in Somersetshire, and other manors in Dorsetshire of him, and was himself tenant *in capite* of one manor in Wilts. Branches founded by younger sons of Bernard, or of his heirs, flourished for many generations at Hasfield, in this county, and in Somerset at Compton-Pauncefoot, so called to this day. Turstin fitz Rou held a hide and-a-half of land in Hasfield, of the Abbot of Westminster. In 1166 Humfrid Paunceuot, and Eustace Pancevot were feudal tenants of Henry de Newmarch.

LXVIII.—ANSFRIDVS DE CORMELIJS.

Ansfrid de Cormeilles had, unquestionably, come over with

[1] In Berkshire, Turstin fitz Rolf held lands at Sparsholt, and a certain Roger these of him. This fact will, perhaps, help to identify him and to show that he left descendants, though Gloucestershire, so far as I am aware, affords no evidence of the fact, nor was his fief transmitted intact to heirs male. In Sparsholt, therefore, where he held lands, the monks of Abingdon had also an estate of which Turstin *de Turbeville* was their tenant. He was succeeded therein by Anschitel, who was taken prisoner by William Rufus, and, dying in custody, the king gave the property to Turstin, his despenser. On this Turstin's death, Hugh, his son succeeded, and, after the accession of Henry I., went to Abingdon and did homage for this land to Abbot Farice. In 1105 the king confirmed to the monks the ten hides in Espersholt now held of them by Hugh (fitz) Turstin, "despenser of my court." Here we have the first beginning of the family of Le Dispensers of Gloucestershire. Whether either of these tenants of the Abbey of Abingdon, of the name of Turstin, was identical with the son of Rou, who had lands of his own in the same place, cannot be determined. It requires further evidence than apparently exists to work out the correction of all this with any certainty, but it is curious that the Turbervilles of Buckinghamshire bore anciently *ermine, a chief indented gules*, while the Despenser's arms were *ermine, a chief gules* (See the early seal of Thurstan le Despenser, temp. Henry III., engraved in "Coll. Top. et Gen." Vol IV., p. 239.

William fitz Osbern who was lord of Cormeilles, and had founded an abbey there before the conquest to which he, afterwards, gave lands in Gloucestershire. Only one other of this name occurs in the Survey—Gozelin, in Hants. Very little can be found about Ansfrid, although he was one of the most extensive landowners in this county.

From Domesday we learn that he had lands in Winston and in Duntesbourne from Walter de Laci when he took (to wife) his niece (neptis). These seem to have been held of Roger de Laci in 1086, for the Survey adds : 'he holds the other lands of the king.' Eighty years after we find Richard de Cormelys holding two knights' fees of the barony of Hugh de Laci of the old feoffment, probably in respect to these lands.

The other lands Ansfrid had in this county were in all fifteen manors of various extent, in Weston-sub-Edge, Norton, Batsford, Postlip, Shipton, Elkstone, Colesbourn, Side, Pauntley, Chilcot (now Kilcot), Chitiford, and Hege. Under 'Terra Regis,' we read Earl William gave three hides of the manor of Beckford to Ansfrid de Cormeilles.

In Herefordshire Ansfrid de 'Cormel' had seven manors.

Ansfrid appears to have certainly died before 1101, and in Turstan de Cormeil, who is named as having two tenants in the town of Winchcombe, we, doubtless, have his son and successor.

Ansfrid de Cormeilles, 1086, dead 1101. ═ ... ... *niece of Walter de Laci*, 1086.

Turstin de Cormeilles, 1101, vel ante.

Richard de Cormeilles, 1166. ═ Beatrix. Alexander de Cormeilles, 1166.

Walter de Cormeilles, ═ Richard

Dugdale had, apparently, no authority for making Richard de Cormeilles, who was, in 1166, in possession of the barony of Ansfrid, his son and heir, instead of grandson, which dates make more probable. Richard's son, Walter, left three daughters and co-heirs.

Of Ansfrid's vassals, Turstin, probably his son, held lands of him in Side; Bernard, two virgates and-a-half in Duntesbourne, and "two knights," unnamed, land in the last mentioned place.

LXIX.—HVNFRIDVS CAMERARIVS.

Humphrey the Chamberlain appears to have been of the household of Queen Matilda, by whom he seems to have been greatly advanced, as it was doubtless she who had granted him many of the manors we find him holding in 1086 in no fewer than six of the southern counties, besides Gloucestershire and others in Leicestershire and Suffolk. Some of these, as four hides in Wick (Warr), had formerly belonged to Brictric Algarson, he on whom the queen had been revenged. The Survey expressly states that the queen gave the vills of (Iron) Acton and Wickwar to Humfrey. Others of this thane's lands, particularly Thornbury and Fairford, Humfrid seems to have only farmed of the queen, and after her death in 1083, of the king, to whom they reverted. She gave four hides in Fairford to another Chamberlain, who was named John.

Besides the above Humphrey had in the county, inferentially by grant from the king himself, four manors, of a hide each, in Longborough; one in each Ampney, Northcote, and Preston; and a virgate in Eastbrook held of him by a certain William; and Siddington, held of him by Anschitel, evidently Anschitel 'Parcher,' *i. e.* the Parker who was his tenant of three manors in Somersetshire. Humfrey is styled, in one instance in the Survey, "brother of Aiulf the Chamberlain," both having houses in Southampton. Aiulf was also viscount, or sheriff, of Hants, and had, himself, an extensive fief. Henry I. in 1106, confirmed among other lands, a hide in Ampney (given or sold) by Humfrey the Chamberlain to the Abbot of Tewkesbury, which proves that he was living in 1102, when the abbey was refounded. It is clear they were members of a family accustomed and trained to the duties of a Chamberlain, offices often continuing in certain families for generations, irrespective of lands being attached to them. Thus the last Royal house of Scotland was descended from the Stewards of the older kings, themselves derived from the seneschals or stewards of the bishops of Dol in Brittany before the date of Domesday.

Aiulph, the Chamberlain, sheriff, of Hants, 1086.

Humphrey, the Chamberlain, 1086, v. 1102.

Humfrey's lands were afterwards held of the honor of Gloucester, nine knights, described in 1166 as "formerly the fief of Robert de Gourney."

LXX.—HVNFRIDVS DE MEDEHALLE.

Humphrey de Medehall holds lands in Seisincote and Wotton. I have not succeeded in finding the place called Medehall, by the name of which he was, it seems, known.

LXXI.—HVNFRIDUS COCVS.

Humphrey the Cook was holding one hide in Lechton, in Salemanesbury hundred, and has one plough there. Ordric had held it for a manor in King Edward's time. This has been identified as Leckhampton. Humphrey does not seem to have been the first grantee after the conquest, for, the Survey adds, Osbern de Keresburg[1] had held it. Humphrey was perhaps a cook to the royal court, if not to the king himself, but this is all I can find he held.

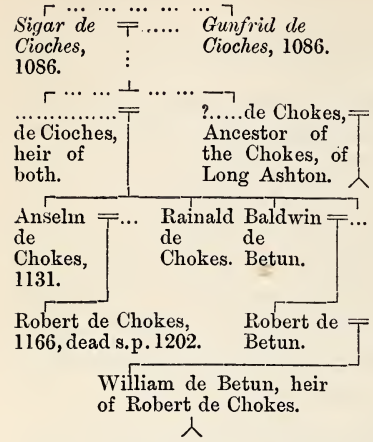
LXXII.—SIGARVS DE CIOCHES.

Two of the name of de Cioches occur in the Survey, Sigar and Gunfrid, who seem to have been brothers, and the son of one of them appears to have inherited the fiefs of both. They, probably, came from Choques, in Flanders. Sigar had in this county the lands of the Countess Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor, and mother of Harold of Ewyas and Sudeley. These lands were in Hawling, Hasleden, and Yanworth. Some hides in the latter two had been granted free of the tax (Danegeld) by King William; the county jury testified as to those in Hasleden, and a vassal of Sigar's as to Yanworth.

Sigar de Cioches had, elsewhere, two manors in Herts, one in Bedfordshire, and one in Northants. In the last county were most of the estates of Gunfrid as well. Baker, the historian of Northants, identified the manor not named, held by Sigar, as Gayton in Towcester hundred. Anselm de Chokes, whom he

[1] This must be either Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, though not named in the Survey, or Cherbourg, then Cheresbourg, Cæsarisburgus. William fitz *Osbern* was lord of the isle of Wight.

calls son of Gunfrid, appears to have succeeded, but was temporarily under escheat in 1131.



Rainald de Chokes, for the remission of his sins and for the souls of his father and mother, grandfather and brother, gave Yanworth to Gloucester Abbey between 1135-9, because King Stephen's charter obtained by Abbot Walter de Lacy confirmed it, and Robert de Betun gave 20s. of his rents in Yanworth and Chedworth. Ralph de Sudeley, we learn, gave the advowson of Yanworth, which looks as if his family had subsequently regained, at least the suzeranty of, some of the Countess Goda's estates.

Robert, the son of Anselm's sister by Baldwin, the advocate of Bethun, inherited his barony of 15 knights' fees on the death of Anselm's son Robert de Chokes. However, a junior line survived, of which was Sir Richard Choke of Long Ashton, near Bristol, the Chief Justice, and I think it could be shown that Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, derived his Christian name from this family.

LXXIII.—MATHIV DE MAVRITANIA.

'Maci de Mauritania' had no fewer than twenty-one hides of land in Shipton(-Moyne). Ten had belonged to a Dane named Strang; ten to a certain John; and one to Alwin, probably the sheriff, and to Rainbert, a Fleming, after him. The two latter estates were held of Maci by one Rumbald.

Maci may have had his name from Mortain, in Normandy. Matthew de Moretania had Clevedon, and two other manors in Somersetshire, and either he, or Ildebert his vassal at Clevedon, was the ancestor of the family of de Clevedon, in which the name of Matthew occurs as late as the reign of Edward III. Maci's

name was written Mathiu in the heading and elsewhere in the Survey, showing that Maci was, apparently, the familiar form of Matthew.

LXXIV.—GOZELINVS BRITO.

Gotzoline, or Josceline le Breton, had Charfield. In Bucks he held Cublin*cote* (now ton) and some other lands. At Caerwent, in Monmouthshire, Josceline had five carucates of land with two Welsh tenants. Nothing more is to be found about this Breton. His name was a common one among his countrymen. According to Lipscomb he left a son Hugh, father of Walter de Chêney, whose only daughter was the wife of Almaric Despenser. (Hist. Bucks, III., p. 256).

LXXV.—ROGERIVS FILIVS RADVLFI.

Roger fitz Ralph holds one manor, which Sewin, the provost, or reeve, of Bristol had held of King Edward, 'by name Cliston,' as the clerk afterwards found and interlined. This is Clifton, near Bristol. In the same hundred of Sineshead, in which that was, Roger had another manor of one hide, "but no one appeared (before the commissioners) to give the value of this land," nor even to say where it was situate. Then the Survey records that 'Walter,' we should perhaps read Roger, 'has one manor of one virgate of land' only, but where is not stated. It is very likely he was a son of Ralph, brother of Roger de Berchelai (q. v.), and progenitor of the family of de Clifton, who held this manor, and two others in Somersetshire subsequently, of the honor of Gloucester.

LXXVI.—UXOR GERI (DE LOGES.)

The wife of Giroie des Loges holds of the king four hides in Guiting which had been the manors or estates of the three thanes, Gulvert, Tovi, and Turbern. I suspect 'widow' would have been more exact than 'wife,' that this was dower land, and that her husband's fief had reverted to the crown by his death without heirs. His name, however, nowhere appears in Domesday, but he must have been an old man when he died if he were the same Giroie des Loges, one of the barons ratifying the agreement

made in 1050 by the sons and nephews of Giroie de Echaufour, to benefit the unfinished abbey of St. Evroult. Ordericus Vitalis, who was a monk there, gives a very full and interesting account of Giroie de Echaufour and his family (Book III., chap. ii.). Giroie des Loges was, probably, from his name, some relative, but how is not apparent. On the verge of the forest of St. Evroult, and adjoining Echaufour, we find a small commune, still called St. Pierre-des-Loges, probably the place whence Giroie derived his name, and which he had held sixteen years before the conquest, then, probably, a collection of the lodges, or log huts, of those who were making assarts, or clearings, in the forest. From the cartulary of Gloucester we learn the name of the widow of Giroie des Loges; it was Gunilda; and for the soul of "Jurieus" her husband, she gave two hides, out of the four she had in Guiting, to the monks of that abbey, as first confirmed to them by King William, the younger, in the time of Abbot Serlo. The absurd date of 1009 is given to this benefaction by mistake; we should, probably, read 1089, or 90.

LXXVII.—BALDWINUS.

This Baldwin held in capite only three virgates of land in Ampney, but there can be no doubt his name occurs elsewhere in the Survey though there are no means of identifying him with certainty. Possibly he was the Baldwin to whom Queen Matilda had given lands in Fairford, and the Baldwin fitz Herluin, who had had a manor in Bradeley hundred.

LXXVII.—TAINI REGIS.

The following were those thanes who managed to retain, either by compounding, or by being received into the king's favour, some portion of the lands they had in the time of Edward the Confessor. In some cases it was, unquestionably, policy on the part of the Conqueror to conciliate such of them as by personal influence would be useful as examples of submission to fate. Among the rest we have two women, one a nun, and two or three who had evidently been allowed to inherit. I give them not in the order in which they are named in Domesday, but alphabetically, for the sake of easier reference.

ALWOLD continued to hold four hides in Pinnock from the time of King Edward. A burgess in Winchcombe was a tenant of this estate.

BRICTRIC had four hides in Leckhampton, but in King Edward's time only two of them, the other two, Ordric, probably his brother, held. "King William granted them both to Brictric, when he was going into Normandy." Besides this he also kept one hide in Woodchester. There are reasons for believing this was the great thane Brictric, son of Algar, though there were two or three others of his name, but not of his rank.

CHETEL held of the king one hide and a virgate in Winrush, as in the reign of King Edward; also then and now three virgates and a half in Duntisbourne. Chetel was a very common name, especially in the Danelagh.

CUENILD, a nun, had nine hides in Naunton, which Eilmer had held as a manor, or separate estate, in King Edward's time. Four of these, only, were taxed for Danegeld.

DONS retained two hides in Bitton which he held in the Confessor's reign; only one was taxed, for the other belonged to the church. This was doubtless the "Duns," or "Dunne," whose other lands had been granted to Osbern Gifard: viz., four manors, one of which, Brimpsfield, he had held of Earl Harold.

EDDIET had a hide of land in Bickmarsh before 1066 and was still possessed of it. Domesday does not say whether Edith was a widow or a spinster.

EDRIC KETELSON had three hides and three virgates in Baunton, and four hides and a half in Alkerton, both which his father had held in King Edward's time, when that inquest, or Survey, was taken for assessing Danegeld, on which Domesday, it is evident, was founded. Whether Ketel, or Chetel, his father, was the thane of that name still surviving does not appear, but it is not improbable. Edric, however, ultimately fell under escheat, and an original charter of Henry I. (1115-23) exists in the archives of the duchy of Lancaster, dated at Portsmouth,

granting to Walter de Gloucester all the lands of Edric, son of Ketel. King Stephen confirmed this grant, and his charter, dated at Fareham, is also at the Record Office.

ELSI, of Farendone, as he is styled, in Domesday and by those who knew him, for distinction from others of the name. As a king's thane he still held three hides in Winrush. The same Elsi of Ferendone farmed the manor of (Great-)Barrington of the king, who was retaining it in his own hands. It had belonged to Tovi 'Widenesci,' one of Earl Harold's huscarles. Elsi of Ferendone, also, it appears, held of the Abbot of Winchcombe three hides and-a-half, also, at Winrush, which a certain Bolle had given to the abbey, apparently, in King Edward's reign. After Bolle's death this land was wrongfully included in Salmonesbury hundred, as was found by verdict of the jury of Bernington hundred, within which it properly lay.

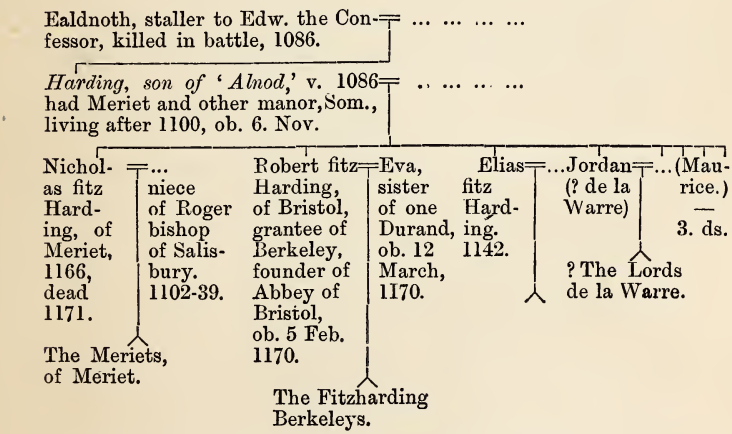
ELSI held five hides in Longney, as in the Confessor's reign.

ELWARD REINBALD-SON we find holding two hides which a thane, named Balchi, had formerly held. "Elward," simply, without any addition, but, probably, the same, held of the king, for a manor, half a hide in Dunestan. This was evidently a son of Reinbald, the chancellor of King Edward. (q.v.)

HARDING held Wheatenhurst (five hides) of Brictric, in pledge, or mortgage, doubtless for a sum of money advanced to this unfortunate man. The pecuniary transaction accords with the idea that in this Harding we have the son of Alnod, and the father of the famous Robert fitz Harding, who, it is manifest, supplied the Empress Maud and Earl Robert largely with funds; no mean factor in sustaining the cause of the empress and her son against Stephen. Robert was provost of Bristol, and Harding, his father, is said to have held that office; such offices previously were generally hereditary. It was an office of great trust, often let to farm, when the farmers made great profits by unscrupulous exactions. Certainly large sums were temporarily in the provost's coffers. He was, in all probability, Harding, son of Ealdnoth the Staller to Edward the Confessor, who is spoken of by William of

Malmesbury (§254), as yet surviving, and "a man more accustomed to kindle strife by his malignant tongue than to wield arms in the field of battle." He was a different man from his father, who, having come to terms with the Conqueror, had perished leading the men of Somerset against the sons of Harold when the latter were "devastating the sea board of that county in 1068." Harding got none of his father's lands; they were mostly granted to the Earl of Chester;[1] so it is probable he was a minor at his father's death. But we find Harding, son of Alnod, in 1086, in possession of a fief in Somerset, and seated at Meriet. In this, he was succeeded by Nicholas fitz Harding, his son and heir, ancestor of the de Meriets.

Mr. Eyton[2] admits the suggestions of the writer that Robert fitz Harding, of Bristol, may have been this Harding's *younger* son,



which, though there is no direct proof of identity, is warranted by certain facts. Among other advantages gained by Herlwine, Abbot of Glastonbury for his house during his abbacy, (1101-20), was the recovery, doubtless by suit in the curia regis, of the manors

[1] A manor in Weston, and another also in Langtree hundred, in this county, among the rest. Elnod had held fifteen hides in Ampney: five had been granted to him by King Edward, as the shire declare; the ten he afterwards relinquished. The Bishop of Bayeux had the whole, but in 1086 they had reverted to the king.

[2] Notes and Queries, 6th S. I., p. 21.

Mells and Lyme, in Somerset, out of the hands of a certain Harding fitz Eadnoth, an advocate (causidicus), a man even then of power and influence.

MADOCH, a Welshman evidently, from his name, had held, in the reign of the Confessor, two hides in Rudford, and still kept them, 1086.

OSWARD still retained the small estate of three virgates he had held in Rodmarton in King Edward's time, twenty years or more before.

BRITISH AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CHELTENHAM.

By G. B. WITTS.

Read at Cheltenham, 10th July, 1879.

There are many local advantages attending the site of Cheltenham and the surrounding district, as the home of the pastoral tribes, which, at the earliest known period, inhabited this country. Surrounded on every side by lofty hills on which to plant their fortresses, and a well watered and fertile valley wherein to feed their flocks, no district could be better suited to their needs.

That the site of Cheltenham, itself, was occupied by a British people we have abundant evidence. British coins, pottery, burial places, urns and bones, flint arrow heads, and other stone weapons and implements, have been found within the area of the town.

The Great Western Railway Station stands on the site of a British burial ground. At a place called Paradise was a hollow surrounded by a bank near which flowed the river "Chelt"—the mound of earth formed by nature was hollowed out and within it a kind of Cromlech was erected, consisting of three large unhewn stones set upright with a massive stone covering them. Within this Cromlech were discovered stone implements, broken urns, and fragments of human bones and personal ornaments; this discovery was made in 1832, but in the construction of the railway, in 1846, the whole was destroyed, and the original character of the locality totally obliterated.

While speaking of British remains in Cheltenham I would add a few words as to the social condition of the original inhabitants; for, as Sir William Guise truly remarked in his address to this Society in 1876,—"The popular notion that our ancestors were in a condition of utter barbarism, and wore nothing but a coat of paint will not bear much examination."

Cæsar found both civil and military systems, long established, quite able to cope with those of Rome. His description conveys the impression of a country settled for centuries under some kind of government; corn abundant, and easily procured; the population so thick as to strike him with amazement (infinita hominum est multitudo); villages and hamlets studding the country in clusters (creberrima); and stock of all kinds unlimited. The civilization which produced such a state of security for life and property could not have been of recent origin. Cæsar describes the British chariot system as combining the solidity of infantry with the rapidity of cavalry, and mentions the reserve forces of the British Dictator Caswallan as numbering four thousand chariots, against which the Roman cavalry could not without great peril contend. It must also be remembered that Cæsar invaded Britain fifty-four years B.C., was met in six pitched battles, and though he imposed a tribute he left not a single Roman soldier behind. It was not till forty-five years after our Saviour's birth that Aulus Plautius invaded this country, though during this intervening period of ninety-nine years the Roman empire wielded a force of about 500,000 men. Strabo bears witness to the commercial enterprize of the Britons, and describes them (not as painted savages) but, as "walking with staves, wearing beards, and garments girded at the waist, and flowing down to their heels" (B. III., C. V. § II.).

I will now describe the various antiquities still to be found in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham, and, while giving special attention to those hitherto unnoticed, hope to mention most, if not all, the objects of interest, and, in many instances, to give a reference to former descriptions. I purpose dividing my subject into seven heads, under each of which I shall offer a few brief remarks:—

I. LONG BARROWS.
II. ROUND BARROWS.
III. STONE CIRCLES, &c.
IV. BRITISH DWELLINGS AND FORTS.
V. BRITISH AND ROMAN CAMPS.
VI. ROMAN VILLAS.
VII. BRITISH AND ROMAN ROADS.

I.—LONG BARROWS.

1.—*Belas Knap.* This is situated between Corndean and Charlton Abbots. It is described in the "Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club,"[1] and has also been treated by Mrs. Dent in her charming book on Sudeley Castle. Our interest in it is greatly increased by the very interesting lecture with which we were favoured by Professor Rollestone at the Conversazione at Cheltenham (ante, p. 31.)

2.—A barrow on the summit of the hill above Shurdington, near the "Crippets," and not far from the Roman villa of Dry Hill. This was examined by Mr. Lysons.

3.—*Crickley Barrow*, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Northleach.

4.—Another near Northleach, mentioned by Mr. Playne in the "Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club."

5.—*Jack Barrow*, one mile to the west of the Ermine Street, near Duntsborne Abbots.[2]

6.—The *Hoarstone* tumulus near Jack Barrow.[3]

7, 8, 9, 10.—Two barrows near Lower Swell, one at Upper Swell, and one near Eyford, examined in the years 1867-1876, and fully described by Greenwell and Rolleston.[4]

II.—ROUND BARROWS.

The Round Barrows are far more numerous than the Long Barrows. They are to be found on the hills all around Cheltenham. Many have been destroyed within the last few years, and others are now being removed; one at "Dry Heathfield,"[5] in the parish of Leckhampton, was examined by Messrs. Gormonde and Bell, about thirty years ago, and described in a pamphlet written by them.

The one at "Foxcote"[6] is about seventy-five feet in diameter, and ten feet high. It is situate in a commanding position above

[1] 1876, p. 337. [2] Archæologia, Vol. XVI., p. 461. [3] Ibid., vol. XXV., p. 53. [4] British Barrows, pp. 513-541. [5] See Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club, 1876, p. 334. [6] "Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club," 1876, p. 335.

the village, and is marked on the Ordnance Map as *St. Paul's Epistle.* There were several on the top of Cleeve Hill, and between the "Rising Sun" and Nottingham Hill, but nearly all of them have disappeared; one is very conspicuous on the top of the hill above Hewlets, there are others near Chedworth, Cubberley, Hawling, Hazleton, Eyford, Lower Swell, &c.

There are three in a coppice, near to the way-side Inn known as the "Air Balloon," on the left hand side of the road leading from Cheltenham to Birdlip. These, I believe, have never been examined or noticed in any publication. There are so many scattered all over the Cotswold Hills that it would be tedious to mention them all, but I will name one more called "Wagborough," in the parish of Upper Slaughter. It is situate by the side of the ancient road leading from Alauna (Alcester) to Salmonsbury (Bourton-on-the-Water) called Buggilde Street, to which I shall allude later on.

III.—STONE CIRCLES AND AVENUES.

There is one very interesting work of this description between Cheltenham and Birdlip which has never been noticed or described; but as I purpose taking an accurate survey of it with the view of communicating a separate paper to the Society, I abstain from giving a more particular account of it in this place.

IV.—BRITISH DWELLINGS AND FORTS.

Mr. Gomonde describes a British village on the slopes of Cleeve hill, not far from the "Rising Sun," and another in the parish of Leckhampton, near "Dryheath field."

This Society had the opportunity of examining a British fort in the valley near Leckhampton Church. This is, in form, rather irregular and surrounded by a deep moat, still full of water. Outside the moat are traces of a bank with an entrance at one angle. Excavations have been made in the interior of the enclosure, but no signs of foundations of any kind have been discovered, thus upsetting the idea, held by some persons, that an old manor house once stood here. Mr. Niblett mentions a similar moated enclosure in the neighbourhood of Haresfield.

V.—BRITISH AND ROMAN CAMPS.

The Cotswold hills are peculiarly rich in this class of antiquities. Many of them have been described and figured by Mr. Playne, in the "Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club," 1875, p. 202. But the following five camps have never before been described.

Dowdeswell Camp.—In the parish of Dowdeswell, between Roseley farm and Upper Dowdeswell house, about 4 miles from Cheltenham, is an entrenched enclosure, presumably Roman, of large extent. It is quadrilateral in form, but not rectangular, and measures 420 yards on one side and 320 yards on the other, whilst the average width is 220 yards, its area, therefore, is nearly 17 acres. The entrenchments on the west and north side consist of a high mound and ditch, which are strongest on the west side; on the south there is a mound only; on the east the ground forms a natural defence. The enclosure is divided across, into two nearly equal portions, by a singlemound. There is an entrance into the northern portion at the south-west angle, and into the southern there is an entrance at each of the southern angles. In this latter portion there is a tank, and there is a good spring of water just outside the entrenchment on the eastern side. This entrenchment is situate below the summit of the hill, and there was, probably, a look-out at "St. Paul's Epistle," which is within half-a-mile, and commands an extensive view.

About half-a-mile east of the above-mentioned entrenchments are some other extensive earthworks in a field near Upper Dowdeswell house. These latter face east and west, and have no corresponding embankments on the north and south. On recently examining these entrenchments with Sir William Guise, he suggested that they might be connected, in some way, with the Roman station at Wycomb, near Andoversford. He thought however, that the weakness of the defences, in proportion to the extent of the enclosure, when taken in connexion with the division by a mound into two parts, would seem to suggest the probability that this may not have been a fort for military purposes, but

rather for the protection of cattle and flocks against marauding neighbours.

Hewlets Hill Camp.—Between Colonel Agg's house, called "The Hewletts," and Northfield farm, there is a small camp, irregular in form, partly defended by having the sides of the hill "scarped" so as to form a steep slope. This camp is situate near the ancient road leading from Cheltenham to Whittington and Shipton Olive. On the west side is a ditch and mound for a distance of, say, 35 yards, defending the camp at its weakest point. Probably this work was an outpost from the large British Camp on Nottingham hill. The greatest length of the Hewlets Hill Camp is about 100 yards and the greatest breadth 60 yards.

Salperton Park Camp.—This camp is situate on a very high part of the Cotswold hills, by the side of the "Saltway." The remains are now very indistinct, but there is sufficient to show that there was a small rectangular camp, for though only one side of it is now visible, the angles of the entrenchments indicate the exact size, which is 240 feet by 175 feet. There are several round tumuli in the neighbourhood, one being in the same field as the camp.

Prestbury.—There are some earthworks in the parish of Prestbury, about a quarter-of-a-mile to the west of the church. They are divided into two parts. The strongest portion, and that best preserved, is nearly square; it measures 155 yards by 130 yards, and consists of a deep ditch within the bank. What purpose these entrenchments were intended to serve I am unable to explain, nor can I tell by what people they were constructed. Some persons are of opinion that they are British, some that they are Roman, and others, that a mediæval manorhouse stood here. Whatever may have been their origin, there can, I think, be no doubt that they represent a fortified enclosure of some kind, and it is to be hoped that some among the members of this Society will give their attention to the subject and endeavour to settle to what age they belong and for what purpose they were constructed.

Cleeve Hill Camp.—This camp has puzzled many people, as it stands on the southern slope of a hill commanded by higher

ground on the north. In examining it, a short time since, I discovered the foundations of four circular buildings, and of a wall, built, without mortar, of very thin stones. The diameter of the first building, which is outside the camp, is 50 feet, and the walls are 3 feet thick. The second building is within the camp, and is 53 feet in diameter. The third is outside the camp on the north, and is 50 feet in diameter, whilst there is also a very small building further from the camp not more than 10 feet in diameter. A wall, several hundred of yards long, encloses all these buildings and extends to the edge of the precipice at each end.

On the summit of the hill, in the rear of the camp, are remains which, I believe, represent two watch towers. A road leads out of the camp on the south, which appears to be a very ancient road extending to Prestbury. It is sunk from 10 to 15 feet below the level of the adjoining lands. On excavating, I found the original pavement in good preservation, and, in addition to the transverse paving of the surface, it was finished with edge stones on each side. This road is mentioned in "*Britannia, or the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, actually surveyed by John Ogilby*,"[1] dated 1698, and is there figured and described (*Plate* 70, p. 33) as part of the main road from Gloucester to Coventry. Its course was direct from Cheltenham, through Prestbury, to the hill fortress just described, and past Postlip to Winchcombe. It is now impassable for any description of wheeled vehicles, being simply a deep ditch overgrown with brambles, and, though disregarded by people generally, is of considerable interest to the Antiquary.

I will now direct attention to the position of many other camps in the neighbourhood, but as they have been fully described elsewhere, my notices will be very brief.

Kimsbury Castle.—Above Painswick, very strongly fortified on the south-west, where there are earthworks consisting of 3 high

[1] In the work here referred to it is interesting to note that Cheltenham is described as "*containing near 200 houses*," while Winchcombe is described "*as a large town containing about 300 houses.*"

mounds and deep ditches. This is described by Mr. Playne.[1]

Churchdown.—This has been described as a camp, by Mr. Baker, in Archæologia, Vol. XIX., 1821, but Mr. Playne says: "When seen from the neighbourhood of Hucclecote, on the Ermine street, Churchdown Hill has the appearance of a vast fortress. The ledges of marlstone standing out form terraces with steep banks below them; from these terraces arise rampart-like mounds, with moat-like hollows between them. From its commanding position in the vale, and its natural strength, Churchdown Hill was, probably, occupied, occasionally, by the early inhabitants of this country, but the nature of its soil (the damp tenacious lias) must have rendered it unfit for a permanent camping ground."

"*Norbury,*" near Colesbourne, was of an irregular form on the summit of the hill (see "Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club," 1875, p. 210.)

Norbury, near Farmington, enclosing an area of about 80 acres, is described by Mr. Playne on the same page as the preceding one.

"*Nottingham Hill*" *Camp* is more than 100 acres in extent, formed by a double line of earthworks across the neck of the hill; a British work, described in "Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club," 1875, p. 209.

Charlton Abbots is a circular camp, and derived little strength from its position—it is nearly obliterated by the Plough.

Leckhampton Hill.—An entrenchment on a curved line, cuts off a small area. In Buckman's Corinium (p. 5) mention is made of a Roman well in this camp piercing through the oolite rocks to water bearing strata, but no trace of it can now be found.

Crickley Hill Camp is formed by a mound and ditch running across it in a curved line.

"*Birdlip*" Camp, formed in the same manner, but now nearly obliterated.

Cooper's Hill—Slight traces, though formerly, doubtless, a considerable camp.

[1] "Proceedings of the Cotteswold Field Club," 1875, p. 211.

"*Beckbury Camp,*" above Hayles, is fully described in the "Proceedings of the Coteswold Field Club," Vol. iv., p. 207. It commands a most extensive prospect, and from it can be seen 12 other camps.

"*Lidcomb,*" above Stanton, on Shenborough hill, fortified with double entrenchments. Mr. Playne says, this has probably been destroyed by cultivation; but such is not the case, the ancient ditch is still very deep.

"*Bredon Hill.*"—There are 2 camps here, one at Penbury, and the other above Conderton.

"*Toddington Park.*"—The Rev. Mr. Stanton writes that there are defensive earthworks in Toddington deer park.

"*Wolstone Camp.*"—It has been stated that there is a Roman camp on the hill, above the church, and when seen from a distance it has the appearance of one.

"*Stainbarrow.*"—In Isaac Taylor's Map of Gloucestershire, 1800, there is a camp marked between Notgrove and Westfield. The Rev. Mr. Royce writes: "Stainbarrow is a large open grass field, near Notgrove, skirted on the north by an old way, a branch of which was called "Mylenwæg," leading, it is supposed, to Aston Mill. It has some suggestive tumps and tumuli in it."

"*Cold Aston,*" Rudder says, p. 238: "In the camp field, on the right hand side of the road leading to Bourton-on-the-Water, are entrenchments, now much levelled." I believe these are now quite destroyed.

"*Hempstead Camp.*—One mile to the south of Gloucester. This is a very regular Roman camp, being a parallelogram 200 by 110 yards.

VI.—ROMAN VILLAS.

I will now pass on to the next class of Antiquities—Roman Villas, of which there are no fewer than ten, within ten miles of Cheltenham.

1.—"*Whitcombe,*" described by Mr. Lysons, in the Archæologia, Vol. xix, p. 178, date 1821; also by the Rev. W. Bazeley, in his

paper read to this Society on the occasion of their recent visit to the villa (ante p. 35.)

2.—"*Withington.*"—This was discovered in 1811 on a piece of land half-a-mile south of the village. The part of the field in which the villa was found is called "The Old Town," or "Wittington upon Wall Well," from a fine spring of water so named and which rises near it, about 150 yards from the river Coln. Some beautiful pavement from this villa is now in the British Museum. A description of this villa will be found in the Archæologia, Vol. XVIII.

3.—"*Chedworth.*"—This was discovered and explored in 1866, and an admirable description of it has been printed by Messrs. Buckman & Hall, in a pamphlet.

4.—"*Dry Hill.*"—This is 4 miles from Cheltenham, and was discovered by Mr. Gomonde and Capt. Bell, in 1849. It is situate on the hill-side, south of Shurdington, and not far from Crickley Hill Camp. It appears to have been a Villa Rustica, or "Farm," and presents a great contrast to the villas of Whitcombe and Chedworth. There were no tesselated pavements, and the pottery found included large quantities of sham Samian—no real Samian. I have recently visited the spot, and after some difficulty discovered the actual site. I found large quantities of Roman pottery of various kinds, and though now covered up I could easily trace the outline of the villa. This villa is described by the discoverers in a pamphlet printed for private circulation.

5.—"*Combend.*"—This was discovered in 1779, and described by S. Lysons, in the Archæologia, Vol. IX., pp. 319-322,

6.—"*Bisley.*"—This was discovered in 1847, and described in the Journal of the Archæological Association, Vol. II.

7.—"*Stancomb Park,*" near Gloucester.—A tesselated pavement from this villa is now in the Gloucester Museum.

8.—"*Haresford Villa.*"

9.—"*Painswick Villa.*"

10.—"*Wadfield,*" near Winchcombe.—A tesselated pavement from this is preserved at Sudeley Castle, and the villa has been figured by Mrs. Dent in her Annals of Sudeley, p. 13.

There are also remains of a Roman Villa at Lower Swell, near Stow-on-the-Wold. I am not aware of any description of it, though it was mentioned to me in a letter from the Rev. David Royce.

At Woodchester, near Stroud, there are extensive remains of a Roman Villa and some of the finest tesselated pavement yet found in England. This villa was discovered in 1793, and described by Lysons in his well-known work on Woodchester, published in 1797, p. 2.

"*Wycomb*" is probably the site of a Roman station. It is situated close to the Andoversford Inn, and the Banbury and Cheltenham Railway crosses the centre of it on a high embankment. The late Mr. Lawrence, in the Gentleman's Magazine for the month of January, 1864, says: "Wycomb is an arable field in the parish of Whittington, Gloucestershire, and has, from time immemorial, been considered to be the site of a Roman town." Coins in large quantities have been constantly found in it. The area is about 25 acres, and over the whole of this foundations have been discovered. The track of a road was distinctly visible in it from a point on the north-eastern side to the centre, where it appeared to the right and left. At the end of this road were two masses of building, intersected by a wall of cut masonry, 145 feet long, running at right angles to the road. A room on the north side of the wall measured 45ft. 6in. by 22ft., with other walls and pavements adjacent to it. The walls of these buildings were 2ft. 6in. and 2ft. thick. The floors were mostly of stone, laid in cement and gravel concrete. Pottery has been found in very large quantities, in good specimens of plain and figured Samians. Several very good fibulæ, styli, sacrificing and other knives, keys, and articles of the toilet have also been discovered.

A Bronze Statuette, 3in. in height, was found in excellent preservation. No position could have been better calculated for the concentration of troops than Wycomb. It was near the point where the ancient road from Cirencester to Cleeve Hill intersected those from Campden, Stow, and the higher Cotswolds to Gloucester. It was distant little more than a mile from the large camps at

Dowdeswell, and was only 3 miles from the Watch Towers on Cleeve Hill. It lay in a sheltered and fertile valley, much more capable of permanent occupation than the bleak downs by which it was surrounded, and adjoined an abundant and never failing spring of pure water.

VII.—BRITISH AND ROMAN ROADS.

It is not possible within the limits I have assigned to this paper to enter fully into the subject of the British Trackways and Roman roads in Gloucestershire; these are so numerous, and so interesting, that they would need a separate paper for their elucidation, but, in order to complete my record of the antiquities in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham, it would seem to be necessary to mention, briefly, some of the principal roads that traverse the Cotswold Hills and the adjoining district.

"*Ermyn Street.*"—I believe most antiquaries are agreed in the opinion that this was originally a British Trackway. Its name is thought to be derived from Ερμης (Mercurius) who is said to have presided over the highways. The road runs from '*Spinæ*,' now Speen, near Newbury, through Cricklade, Cirencester, and Gloucester, passing Ross, probably to Abergavenny and St. David's. It is sunk below the surface of the adjoining lands for a long distance from Gloucester. By Birdlip it has a mound protecting it on the south side. In lowering this road near Gloucester, for the purpose of making an approach to a railway bridge, the engineers found the Roman pavement eighteen inches below the surface.

"*Fosse Way.*"—Antiquaries greatly differ in opinion as to the origin of this road. The Fosse Way extended from Lindum (Lincoln), by Ratæ (Leicester), Benonis (Claychester), Corinium (Cirencester), Aquæ Sulis (Bath), Ischalis (Ilchester), to Moridunum (Seaton), on the coast of Devonshire. The terminus beyond Lincoln would seem to have been Portus Felix, at the mouth of the Humber. The Fosse Way, although adopted throughout the whole of its course by the Romans, was, probably, first a British road, as it connected so many British towns above recited. Dr.

Guest, however, states that "the name Fosse has given rise to some very strange hypotheses; it has been supposed that the road was so called because it was one of the hollow ways which marked out the lines of ancient British traffic, but in truth the Roman character of the Fosse is, perhaps, more decided than that of any other highway in the kingdom;"[1] while on the other hand the Rev. T. Leman says:—

"It was a British road running from the north-eastern coast of Lincolnshire, through several important British towns to the great British port of Seaton, in Devonshire." If the Romans made this road it was made to connect British towns, but I cannot help thinking there was a British trackway of some sort long before the days of Cæsar. The Fosse enters Gloucestershire close to Moreton-in-the-Marsh, and runs through Stow-on-the-Wold, near Bourton-on-the-Water and Northleach, through Cirencester, and so on to Bath.

"*The Western Trackway.*"—This Trackway led from Luguballium (Carlisle), by Coccium (Blackrode, Lancashire), Salinæ (Droitwich), Branogena (Worcester), thence by Tewkesbury to Gloucester (Glevum), by the British called Cair-Glou (the fair city). It crossed the Avon at Sea Mills, near Bristol, and then continued to Uxella, near to Bridgwater, then to Isca (Exeter). This road is described, in an old MS. in my possession, as running nearly parallel with the present turnpike road from Gloucester to Bristol, and in the map I have prepared, I have marked it on the turnpike road, there being nothing to indicate its exact course.

"*Ikenild Street.*"—This is so called from the Icĕni, or Ikkens. This word is usually pronounced Icèni, with the accent on the "e;" but it was doubtless pronounced Ikkĕni, the "ce" being hard in latin. The Akman Street appears to have been applied to prolongation of the road westwards to Bath (Aquæ Sulis, not solis, as usually written), and is thought by some to be an Anglo-Saxon name, signifying the *Sick Man's Road.*

The Ikenild Street runs from the eastern side of the island by Kirklington, Woodstock, and Stonefield, crosses the Eevenlode

[1] Archæological Journal, vol. XIV., p. 114.

to Wilcote, and so to Ramsden, a little beyond which village, at a place called Whitty Green, it may be seen for a short distance but from thence to Astally, over Astall Bridge, and so through the fields to Bradwell Grove, it is scarcely visible. Nevertheless, there it is as plain as anywhere holding a straight course into Gloucestershire, by *Coln St. Aldwyns* to Cirencester, then on to Rodmarton, Cherrington, Bag-path, and Symondshall, by Cromhall to Aust, whence passing the Severn, it probably ran through Carewent, Caerleon, and along the coast by Cardiff, Neath, and Carmarthen, to the high post of St. David's.

"*The Salt Way.*"—This is a British road which runs from Droitwich through Worcestershire, under the name of Salt Way, or the Saltero Way.

The road enters Gloucestershire near Ashton-under-Hill, and probably ran by Dumbleton and Toddington to Hayles, and though no trace can be found there now, in Isaac Taylor's map of Gloucestershire, 1800, 'The Salt Way is shown running straight along the line I have described. There is a barn standing on the side of the road just beyond the boundary of the county, near Elmley Castle, called "*Saltway Barn,*" and there is a field between Dumbleton and Toddington, called the "*Salter's Close.*" Near Hayles Abbey the road is very visible in its ascent of the Cotswold Hills, and runs, attended in its course by tumuli, past Hawling, Salperton, and Hazleton, crossing the Fosse Way between Northleach and Stowell Park, thence by Crickley Barrow to Coln St. Aldwyns, where it crosses the Ikenild Street, and pursues its course, as before stated, to the coast of Hampshire.

"*Ryknield Street.*"—This was a British road, stated to commence at the mouth of the Tyne, and passing the Watling Street to Catterick, proceeded thence by Aldborough, crossing the Watling Street at Wall, thence through Sutton Coldfield to Birmingham, King's Norton, Alcester, Bidford, Sedgebarrow, Tewkesbury, Berry Hill, near Ross, and probably by Abergaveny to St. David's. This road is very difficult to trace through Gloucestershire, except from Sedgebarrow to Tewkesbury. It is much to be

desired that the line of way from Alcester to Sedgebarrow, and from Tewkesbury to Ross should be carefully explored.

"*Buggilde Street.*"—This ancient road runs out of the Ryknield Street, just described, near Bidford, and proceeds by Honeybourn, Weston-sub-Edge, near Broadway Tower, then above Stanton, and along the ridge of the Cotswolds, above Upper and Lower Guiting, and joins the Fosse Way near Bourton-on-the-Water (Salmonsbury.) The first mention of this road known to me is in a Saxon Charter, printed in the "Codex Diplomaticus," No. 61, dated 709. In describing boundaries in this charter, Buggilde Street is mentioned three times as being on the Stanton Hills. At Weston-sub-Edge it is still known as Buckle Street, and it passes near the village of Buckland, also by Brockhill and Buggy Hill, now called Beckyhill. The road is raised in several places near Kineton Thorns, and where so raised it has an uniform width of nearly eight feet; there are many tumuli attending it across the Cotswold Hills. The last has been called Wagborough, before mentioned.

There are many other ancient roads in the district, such as the "Greenway," the "Sarn Way," "Green Street," "Oakle Street," "Pig Street," "Jackway," &c., which must remain for future description.

In conclusion, I need only say that it has been my endeavour, in this paper, to carry out one of the objects of the Society, by putting in a condensed form a statement of the various British and Roman Antiquities to be found in the neighbourhood of the town chosen by the Society for their meeting in 1879; and while drawing attention to many objects of interest hitherto unnoticed, I have made reference to such as occur in scattered publications relating to the district around Cheltenham.

SOME PARTICULARS OF THE PARISH OF PEBWORTH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By THOMAS PROCTER WADLEY, M.A.,

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The village of Pebworth—Shakespeare's "piping Pebworth"—is situate from two to three miles north-east of the Honeybourne station on the Great Western line of railway, and in the immediate vicinity of "dancing Marston."

An account of the parish, including a notice of the manors and some of the parties by whom they were held, is given in "The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire," published by Sir Robert Atkyns in 1712, and Samuel Rudder's "New History of Gloucestershire," printed in 1779. Both of these authors quote from the Domesday record, and mention "Winekton, or Wenitone," in addition to the hamlets of Broad Marston and Ullington, as belonging to Pebworth, though Rudder concluded that it was not actually within the parish but had simply formed part of one of its manors.

Both writers state that the manor of Pebworth was held of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, in the reign of Henry III. At the date of the issue of Rudder's history this manor was possessed by the Fortescues; while that which had belonged to the abbey of Evesham was the property of the Pebworth family of Martin.

With respect to Broad Marston, Rudder states that "Sir Alan Bushel was lord of this manor, and, dying in the year 1245, was buried in Pebworth church."

Atkyns offers no conjecture as to the derivation of the name of this parish; a circumstance not to be regretted by those who

know his ludicrous explanation of Cow Honeybourne, a hamlet near Pebworth, anciently written Calewe, Calow, Cal, and Caw Honeybourne. It may be that Pebworth was originally the *estate* of one Pebba, or *Pebbe*, an opinion which Rudder appears to have entertained.

The name of the village was adopted as a surname at an early period. William Pebworth, of the order of Preaching Friars of Worcester, was ordained a priest in 1396; and "Jtm' payd to pebworth for one hope of lyme jd." is an entry in the South Littleton parish accounts, dated 1555.

The hamlet of Ullington does not seem to have been visited by Atkyns. Rudder says—"here was formerly a chapel, the remains of which are still to be seen." There do not appear to be any remains of it now. But the "churchyard orchard" is there; and, near to it, I noticed a large stone which might have been formerly in an ecclesiastical edifice. There is in the diocesan registry at Worcester a note under date 1277 or thereabout, and headed—"Articuli Abbatis Alincestr' super presentacione Capelle de Vlynton;" from which note it is seen that an agreement had been entered into between Geoffrey lord of Ullington and the previous abbot of Alcester, who was convicted of simony and deposed.

From an inquisition *post mortem* (3rd Henry IV., No. 33.) it is ascertained that William Grevil, who died in 1401 and is commemorated by a brass in the church at Campden, possessed property in Ullington and Pebworth; and Edmund Stafford, bishop of Exeter, who died 3rd September, 1419, was lord of the manor of Ullington, Thomas Stafford being his nephew and heir.[1]

The other hamlet in the parish of Pebworth was anciently called Merestune, and subsequently known by the names of Brodemerston, and occasionally Merston-Boys. From Fines in the Record Office, it appears that three virgates of land in Broad Marston were conveyed 25th Henry III. to Roger son of Robert de Brademerston.[2] Among the said Fines there is an account of

[1] Inquis. p. m., 7th Henry V., No. 22.
[2] Pedes Finium, Co. Glouc., No. 294.

a suit in which Ernald del Boys was the plaintiff, and Anketin de Martinaus and Agnes his wife were the defendants, touching a messuage and nine virgates of land in Pebbewurth and Merston, which property was made over to Ernald who, with his heirs after him, was to pay to Anketin and Agnes, and to the heirs of the latter, "pro omni servicio," one rose yearly at the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist; date 53rd Henry III.[1] After this, "Pebbeworth and Mershton Boys" may be met with, as on a subsidy roll dated 1st Edward III.,[2] and in an account furnished by an Inquisition *post mortem*, 8th Henry VI.[3] of some property held in this parish by the Rous family of Ragley and Lench.

The Fines dated 8th Henry III. mention Richard de la Buschere in connection with land in Brademerston.[4] And those of 12th Edward II. record a suit in which John de la Bussere and William his brother were plaintiffs, and Roger de la Bussere of Brodemerston was defendant, the matter relating to a messuage and three virgates of land and twelve acres of meadow in Brodemerston; which property was then settled on the said John and William, and the heirs of John.[5] In the ninth year of Edward III. a suit was terminated between Richard Gatewyk of Brodemerston, plaintiff, and Walter Beaumont of the same place, defendant, touching one virgate of land in this hamlet, which Henry Beaumont held "ad terminum vite;" Richard paying to Walter 100 shillings.[6]

In 16th Edward III., John Burne and Alice his wife were plaintiffs, and William Mareschal, parson of the church of Dersynton (Dorsington), was defendant, in a suit relative to messuages and lands in Dersynton and Pebbeworth; which property was to be held by the said John and Alice for life, and eventually by the heirs of the latter.[7]

By an Inquis. p.m., taken at Chipping Kington, or Kineton, co. Warwick, 20th Richard II. (No. 14), it appears that John de Bello Monte, or Beaumont, chevalier, and Katherine his wife,

[1] Ped. Fin., Co. Glouc., No. 621. [2] See Appendix I. [3] Inq. p.m., No. 37.
[4] Ped. Fin., Co. Glouc., No. 70. [5] Ped. Fin., Co. Glouc., No. 218.
[6] Ibid., Co. Glouc. No. 120. [7] Ibid., Co., Glouc. No. 207.

were seized of four carucates of land in Pebworth, Mershton, and Quinton, besides property in Leicestershire, Warwickshire, &c.

There can be no question that the spelling "de la Buschere," and "Bussere," in the Fines just cited, is a mistake for *de la Bussell*, or Bushell, the name of the eminent family anciently seated at Broad Marston, whose pedigree, as given in the Harleian copy of the visitation of Warwickshire taken in 1619, begins with Richard de la Bussell, lord of Broad Marston, grandfather of Roger Bushell, who married a daughter of Sir John *de Cantelupo*, knt.,—a name connected with Pebworth in 1327. The pedigree also states that a grand-daughter of this Roger married Richard *Gatewik*, another name anciently belonging to the parish. Members of the family are also mentioned in the pedigrees of Childe, Lane, and Kempston, as entered at that Visitation, and in the pedigree of Carique in the Visitation of Surrey, 1623.

The mansion of the Bushells at Broad Marston, the property of the Earl of Salisbury when Rudder wrote, and now of the Milward family of Lechlade, has undergone many changes since their time. There seems to be very little of it as old as the reign of Elizabeth. Some of the masonry and much of the interior wood work would appear to belong to the period of James I., or of his successor. A part of the moat still remains. Not far from the house there is a building which has for a long time past been divided into two dwellings, and occupied by agricultural labourers. This was formerly a chapel, and would seem to have been built at the beginning of the reign of James I. Atkyns alludes to it, and states that it was "erected for the use of the Mansion House, but no divine Service is performed therein." Mention is made of it twice in the parish registers of Pebworth, namely, 1619, Thomas Riland & Jone Powell weere maried att brodmarston in the Chappell there July the 15; and, 1626, Oct. 27, Mary daughter of Richard Bennett Esq., was buried in the Chappell of brod marston.

It does not seem clear whether this chapel was built on the site, or to supply the place, of an earlier one. A clerical subsidy roll in the Worcester registry, A.D. 1513, speaks of no other

clergyman than the vicar as being then in the parish of Pebworth. Yet the will of Edmund Marten, father of John, Thomas, and Edmund Marten, dated 23rd May, 1528, contains the words—"Jtm' J beq'th to the mai'teining of the church of pebw'th affor said a shepe." Jtm' J beq'the *to brode m'ston* wt'in the same p'rissh an other shepe." The will also mentions "sir John Wilkes my gostly fadr," though this might have been the priest whose duty it was to officiate in the chapel or aisle attached to the parish church.

Pebworth church has invariably been described, so far as my researches have at present extended, as the church of St. Peter the Apostle, except in the will of Thomas Bushell, of Cleeve Prior, made 9th Oct., 1558. He says—"my bodie to be buried in the p'ishe churche of Saincte *Peter and Paule* of Pebworth," bequeathing to that church the sum of three pounds, and to "the highe aulter of the said churche" six shillings and eight pence.

The tower and nave of the church are in the late Perpendicular style, having apparently been built towards the close of the fifteenth century. On the south side of the nave, and of the same length, there is a chapel or aisle communicating with the nave by three arches supported by octagonal pillars. It would appear to be of somewhat later date than the tower and nave, and is described as the "new Jle" in the will of Edmund Marten made in 1528, and already referred to. This aisle has three windows, each of a different pattern, in the south wall, and one window in the east. There was formerly a doorway, now blocked up, on the south side. At the eastern end of the south wall of the aisle there is a large niche with a richly adorned canopy; and a little to the west of it a piscina, the lower part of which is concealed by wainscot, the upper part only being exposed to view. Respecting this, a learned friend has remarked to me that it has a post-Reformation appearance, and that he considers it to belong to the reign of Queen Mary. It may be added that the character of the stone—a soft oolite—seems quite different from that of any other stone observable in the church. The entrance to the rood-loft was from this aisle, several steps to the loft being still visible.

The tower contains five bells, as in Rudder's time; three of them, namely, the first, second, and fourth, bearing the date 1707; the third not dated, but apparently cast about that time, and the fifth dated 1732. It is curious that the name *Bushell* occurs on the second bell,—"Micahell Bvshell mad me"; probably Michael Bushell of the town of Evesham, carpenter, who had a son Michael, and whose will was proved by his widow, Hannah, 12 April, 1726.

There was at first a fine window in the west wall of the tower, but it has been made to give place to a modern doorway, over which some barbarous lights have been inserted. And a tall arch in the east wall of the tower communicating with the nave, is, to a considerable extent, hidden by a gallery from which, not very long ago, a noise of sacred "piping" did lustily proceed.

The nave is entered from the churchyard at the western end of the north wall by a door which is evidently the original one, in excellent preservation (thanks in some measure to the porch), and retaining its iron-work slightly ornamented in fifteenth century style. The font, which appears to be of the same date as the nave, is octagonal, each compartment being adorned with a quatrefoil inclosing a rose. The bowl of the font is placed on the base, and what was obviously its pillar is now lying on the floor of the tower. The pulpit, which is of wood, and ornamented in relief, appears to be at least 200 years old, as do also the altar railings, and some oak woodwork, of which there is a fair quantity about the church. At the south-east end of the nave there is a niche, and near to it the canopy of a piscina, both of which are perhaps of the latest date of the Perpendicular work in the church. The sacred edifice has been treated from time to time as a *corpus vile* on which it was proper to make experiments, the alterations beginning early, and continuing at intervals until the days when parish worthies became possessed with the desire to "beautify" their church, and this one at Pebworth had four dormer windows of the most approved domestic fashion inserted in the roof of the nave on the south side.

The walls of the chancel have an Early English appearance; but the original work has been much interfered with. The (late

Perpendicular) east window contains, in the upper part, fragments of stained glass, on which may be seen two effigies, one crowned, and the other a female holding in the right hand a palm and in the left an object resembling a font. On the south side of the sacrarium there is a piscina, the bowl of which is supported by a grotesque stone figure with human head and face, affrontée, and curled hair, the hands raised to the temples, the hinder part being a tail like that of a lizard.

Departed members of several families are commemorated here by mural tablets and flat stones; the names being Marten, Cooper, Howes, Eden, Shekell, &c. There is not one Bushell memorial. With regard to the name *Shekell*, which is still one of importance in the parish, I would observe that in the course of some generations it has passed through several phases. On Pebworth and Broad Marston subsidy rolls, dated 34th and 35th Henry VIII., it is spelt *Shacle*.[1] That *Shakerley* was the original name is clear from an entry in the register of the neighbouring parish of Blockley,—"1583, Feb. 16th, William, son of William Shakerley, *alias* Shacle, was baptised." The earliest Shekell Will which has come under my notice, is that of Richard *Shakull*, made in latin in 1510, and proved in the parish church of Campden, Sep. 5th, in the same year. The testator desired to be buried in the church of St. Peter of Pebworth, bequeathing one bushel of wheat to the high altar thereof, and iijs. iiijd. to the bells, not forgetting the torches, and directing that Agnes his wife and John his son should take care that there be celebrations in Pebworth church for him and his ancestors.

Before leaving the church, attention should be given to a flat stone in memory of a former vicar. It is on the north side, by the chancel door, and has upon it a long incised cross flory on several steps. On the dexter side of the cross there is a book, and on the sinister, a chalice. Round the verge of the stone runs an inscription in black letter—

"Hic iacet dns' Thoms' Barell quonda' vicarius, &c."

The end of the inscription has been defaced, but the successor

[1] See Appendix I.

of this incumbent was appointed in April, 1458. I have not met with any note of an institution to the benefice of Pebworth between 1396 and this date. On the 12th December, 1469, John Barell, of Broad Marston, perhaps a relative of the said vicar, made his will, desiring to be buried in Pebworth church, and naming as his executors, John Yernemonger (Iremonger), vicar of Pebworth, Edmund Busshell, of Broad Marston, and William Tomnys (Tomes), of Long Marston.

In the churchyard of Pebworth there are the bases of two crosses, each Perpendicular, one of them retaining the lower part of the shaft, which is about twenty inches in height. There are also the ancient stone lids of four coffins, on one of which is the effigy in relief of an ecclesiastic vested in a chasuble, the hands raised and meeting on the breast. It is very much worn, and would seem to belong to the fourteenth century. Another of these coffin lids has on it a handsome long cross in relief, decorated with bosses somewhat resembling the "ball flower."

Among the names which are, or were, to be seen on grave-stones in this churchyard may be mentioned those of John Brain and Ann, his wife, the latter dying in Nov., 1770, aged 49, and the former, 22nd of Jan., 1793, aged 73. A Richard Brayn was of the parish of Pebworth four centuries before their time; and Elizabeth Shakle, of Pebworth, was married at Chipping Campden to Robert Brain, 30th Sept., 1714.

Among the benefactors to the church of Pebworth may be mentioned the following :—

1. John Thacher, vicar of the parish, who made his will on the Friday nearest to the feast of Pentecost, 1510, bequeathing two cows to the custody of the churchwardens, with a direction that he should be interred in the church, and that his obit be duly kept. He left six shillings and eightpence towards the reparation of the nave of Pebworth church, and a like sum towards repairing the nave at Hartlebury; legacies to the poor of Pebworth, to the ringers of the bells, to Richard Bennett, rector of Dorsington, and to the repairs and adornment of the church there, to the monks of Evesham, to his brother Richard, &c.

It may be inferred that Thacher was a native of Hartlebury, the name frequently occurring in the registers of that parish from an early date until comparatively recent times. Humphrey Venables and Elizabeth Thatcher were married there in 1674.

2. William Harris; will proved 29th July, 1533, and registered at the Worcester probate office. He was father of Thomas Harris, and desired to be buried in Pebworth church, to the high altar of which he left the sum of fourpence; also, "J beq'th to the rep'acons of my p'rissh churche of pebworth vjs. viijd. to be paide to the hands of the churche wardens for the tyme beyng."

3. Margery Smyth, of Badsey, wife of John, and mother of Robert Smyth, and grandmother of Thomas Marten; her will, which was proved in, or about the year 1535, contains the clause:— "Jtm' J bequeth vnto the church of pebworth xijd."

4. Edward Busshell, of Prior's Cleeve, gentleman, father of a young family, and son of Thomas Busshell then living; he says:— "My body to be buryed in the p'ishe churche of Pebbeworthe in soche place as hit shall plese my father to appoynte and assigne there . . . I giue and bequethe to the churche of pebbeworthe vjs. viijd."—dated 11th Dec., 1545, proved in the same year, and registered at Worcester.

The will of Thomas Bushell, dated 1558, has been already referred to. It speaks of Thomas, "sonne of Edwarde Busshell being myn heire," who is to have the third part of those lands in Long Marston and Broad Marston, "whiche somtyme did bilonge vnto the late Monasterye of Evesh'm," and of lands and tenements in Mickleton, Ilmington, Brailes, &c., the king and queen to enjoy the same third part during the "minoritie of my said heire." Also to the said Thomas, "my best standing cupp of siluer and gilte," and "one golde ringe whiche is my signett and hathe graven in it T. and B. Edward Bushell, brother of said Thomas, to have the "hoope of golde that I was wonte to weare apon my fyngar." Also to the said Edward, all my messuages, lands, &c., in the town and fields of Harvington, co. Worcester, and those in Bidford, Grafton, and other places in co. Warwick; and my leases

in Prior's Cleeve, Ullington, &c. To Ursula and Anne Bushell 100 pounds apiece at their marriage, or at twenty years of age, if not then married. To every cottager in Prior's Cleeve "that hath no plough going," and to every cottager in Pebworth and Marston, two "strikes of wheate." Legacies to William Bushell, my servant; to my cousin Giles Porter; to Thomas Porter, and to every child of my cousin Edmund Porter, their father; to Anne Clarevise, my sister's daughter; to Margaret, wife of Henry Tandy, of Abbot's Morton, &c. To William Sheldon, of Beoley, Esq., "one redde sorrelled aumbling splayed mare;" and to Ralph Sheldon, son of the said William, "one greate bay ambling gelding." To "the saide Thomas Busshell one stoned ambling horse called olde Button, wt my saddill and bridill that J vsed to ride with; and to the saide Edward Busshell one stonned horse aumbling called younge Button." Testator having the advowson of the vicarage of Prior's Cleeve, directs that his executors shall present Sir Richard Elliatts, curate of that parish, to the said vicarage, "if it fall voide during his life, and if he will accept the same." Proved, in London, 5th Dec., 1558; registered *Welles*, 6.

The last Bushell entry, if I mistake not, in the Pebworth parish register occurs 12th Feb., 1638, when "Robert Bussell" was buried.

In the register of Aston-sub-Edge, co. Gloucester, Thomas Bushell, gentleman, is mentioned as a godfather of Fulke Porter baptised 29th May, 1586. The register of Harvington, co. Worcester, gives the name of Edward Bushell, gentleman, as one of the sponsors at the baptism of Edward Willes, 20th March, 1586; and that of Mr. Thomas Bushell as godfather to Katherine daughter of Thomas Feriman, jun., 6th May, 1617.

The burial of "Elizabeth Bushell de Marson Comitat' Gloucest'" is recorded in the register of Tredington, co. Worcester, 19th July, 1676.

The register at Broadway, co. Worcester, records the baptism of six children of Edward Bushell, Esq.:—Thomas, 1613; Samuel, 1615; Arthur, 1616; John, 1617; Walter, 1623; Elizabeth, 1625. The last mention of a member of the family in the Cleeve

Prior registers is dated 28th Dec., 1805, after the name Fettiplace had been substituted for that of Bushell; it is the entry of the burial of Charles Fettiplace, Esq.

There was a Geoffrey Bushell, of Long Marston, who died towards the end of the reign of Hen. VIII. The name also occurs in that and several succeeding reigns in the parish registers at South Littleton, Worcestershire; and at Fladbury, in the same county, from 1565 till after the middle of the eigthteenth century.

One of the Chantry certificates at the Record Office, reign of Edward VI., contains a note of the gift of some land towards finding a lamp at Pebworth. "The yerelie value therof vjd. the whole distributed to the poore eu' Sithens lampes taken downe vz. vjd. [Also] oon cowe given for an yerelie obitte to be there kepte. The same Cowe Sette owte to hire for ijs. by yere, and is priced to be woorthe—xijs. To the poore nil."

The earliest Terrier is dated 1704, and, after stating that there then pertained to the vicarage of Pebworth a dwelling house and garden, thirteen arable lands with a plat of meadow ground, one beast pasture with ten sheeps' commons, mentions "the Countesse of Salisbury and Mr. John Bennett Esq'" as the impropriators, who received "all manner of tything whatsoever belonging to our parish," and paid the vicar £14 16s. 8d. per annum, "w'ch is all he hath from them." There are several other documents which were sent from the parish of Pebworth to the diocesan registry at Gloucester, one of them bearing date 22nd Sep., 1683, and mentioning the Lady Finch's gift of £24 to the poor of Pebworth; also that there was at that time "no schoole nor Hospitall" in the parish, a fact which was again reported by the parish authorities in 1704. Another document refers to the defeat of the Rye House Plot, and is addressed to "Right Reu'end Mr. Richard Parsons Chancello' of Gloucester," humbling showing that "His Ma'ties Declaracon concerning the late treasonable conspiracy against his sacred Person & the government lately discou'ed; was published in the parish Church of Pebworth afores'd on Sunday the 2d day of September 1683, And likewise on the 9th day of Septemb' aforesayd was the sayd declaracon Published

in the parish Church afores'd & the forme of prayer appointed solemnly read, the whole congregacon being present Dated September the 22th 1683 Tho Howse Minister Thomas Dide Simon Barnes Churchwardens."

The parish register begins in 1595, and entries continued to be made during the period of the Commonwealth.

The advowson of the benefice of Pebworth belonged to the monastery of Alcester for a considerable time prior to 1465, in which year a commission was appointed in the episcopal palace at Worcester for annexing that house to the abbey of Evesham, after which event, until the dissolution of the larger monasteries, the Evesham abbots had the right of presentation.

As no list of Pebworth incumbents has hitherto been published, the following may be of some interest. I have collected the names from the Institution books at Worcester and Gloucester, and the parish registers :—

"Hugo fraunkeleyn de Pebbeworth" was ordained a priest in Worcester Cathedral in 1313, "ad p'sentat' Abbis & Conuent' Alyncest'." Perhaps he was afterwards appointed to the vicarage of Pebworth.

1348. March 16. Robert de Cherlenton becomes vicar ; presented by the Abbot and Convent of Alcester. In 1349 a chaplain was appointed to the chantry of the blessed Mary in the parish church of Alcester, the chaplaincy having become vacant by the resignation of Robert de *Cherlynton.*

1373. April. John Leek, Benedictine monk, succeeding Robert atte Brugg.

1386. May 4. Thomas atte Mulle, on the resignation of John Leek.

1396. June 5. John Monnyg, chaplain. *Monning* is probably meant. He was presented by John Merston, Abbot of Alcester, and the convent of that place.

. . . . . Thomas Barell : perhaps the Thomas Barell who was ordained a secular priest at Worcester, 23rd September, 1430. It was an old name in the diocese ; John Barell, clerk, having been Sequestrator General for the Bishop of Worcester in 1387.

1458. April 28. John Iremonger, on the death of Thomas Barell.

1488. April 2. William Davys, master of arts ; admitted to the vicarage of Pebworth, vacant by the death of John Iremonger ; presented by the Abbot and Convent of Evesham.

1510. June 26. John Taylor, chaplain, on the death of John Thacher.

1528. June 13. William Fox, on the resignation of John Taylor. William Fox, vicar of Pebworth, was appointed one of the overseers of Thomas Bushell's will, 9th October, 1558.

1566. Feb. Christopher Green; patron, John Tailer, alias Baker, by an assignment, dated 22nd Mar., 8th Elizabeth, of a grant from Evesham Abbey, 18th October, 1539.

1587. William Phillips, presented by Queen Elizabeth: had a son Samuel Phillips, baptized 23rd January, 1599.

1615. George Ball, vicar; had a son Thomas baptized 23rd March, in that year.

1621. William Ball, vicar: had a son Robert baptized 9th December, 1621, and a son John, baptized 31st December, 1625.

1657. Edward Morecroft was vicar at this time.

1663. Thomas Howes: held the vicarage for upwards of 49 years. On his death it was sequestrated into the hands of the churchwardens, Thomas Walford and Geoffrey Keck.

1714. March 17. Thomas Andrews, A.B., succeeds Thomas Howes; patron, King George I.

1759. Jan. 27. Jacob Mould, on the death of Thomas Andrews: patron, the Earl of Salisbury.

1806. July 29. Edward Edwards, on the death of Jacob Mould: presented by King George III.

1822. Jan. 31. Joseph Worgan, on the cession of Edward Edwards: presented by Thomas Shekell and John Millard, Esquires.

1825. Sept. 15. James Fowle, M.A., on the death of Joseph Worgan: presented by Thomas Shekell and John Millard, Esquires.

1876. Oct. 21. Henry Coulson Lory, on the death of James Fowle: presented by the Bishop of Gloucester.

1878. Oct. 3. George William Phillips, on the resignation of Henry Coulson Lory: presented by Thomas Stevens Shekell, of Pebworth Manor, Esq.

I am informed that not very long ago, when some one was digging into the earth under the stone commemorating Thomas Barell, vicar, there was discovered a latten chalice, which is now preserved at Pebworth Manor.

APPENDIX.

Subjoined are copies of Lay Subsidy Rolls at the Record Office.

1.—Pebbeworth and M'shton Boys; 1st Edward III.

Numbered $\frac{113}{5}$:—

Thomas Jurdan[taxed]ijs.iiijd.ob.
John Martin - - ijs. vjd. qr.
Robert le Mune - - xvd. o'
John Pigod - - ijs. vjd. ob'.
Richard ffraunkelein - iijs. vd. qr.
Alice ffraunkelein - - xxd.
William Reue - - iijs. iiijd. qr.
Walter Mareschal - xvd. qr.
Hugh Hereward - iijs. ijd. ob. qr'
John Skinar - - iijs. iijd.
John Tomasyn - xixd. o' qr.'
Thomas Crisp - - ijs. xjd.
William Henries - - ijs. iijd.
Alice Beaumond - ijs. vijd. ob' qr.
Alice Morice - ijs. vijd. ob' qr.
Maur' Wilkines - - ijs.
Edith Coks' - - ijs.
William Joce - - ijs.
John Hankar - - xxiijd.
Thomas Hugin - - - xijd.
John Bonde - - ijs. o'
John [or Agnes?] Broun - iijs. o'
John Hobben - xxijd o' qr'
Walter de Chambr' - iijs. vijd. o'
John de la Lee - - ijs. vijd.
Richard Richema' - - xvjd.
William de Mickelton ijs. iijd. o'
Thomas de Cantilupo - ijs. xd. q'
William Hichecokes ijs. vijd q'
William Busshel - iijs. iijd. o'
Hugh de la Bustere - ijs. viijd. o' qr'
John de la Bustere - iijs. iiijd.
William Peresson - - ijs. xjd.
Roger Hankare - - xviijd. o'
Henry Jamies? - - xxijd.
John Inthelon - - ijs. iijd. o'
Emme ffraunkelein - xxijd. q'
Richard ffraunkelein - xijd. o' q'
Nicholas Beaumond - ijs. ijd. o' q'
John de Brewes - - ijs. vijd.
Robert Cosin - - iijs. vd. q'
John le Large - iijs. jd. o' q'
Nicholas Beaumond - xxjd. o' q'
John Dodelare - - iijs. o'
John Nichol - - - ijs.
Peter Thomen - iijs. xjd. o'
John Cosin - - iijs. iiijd. o'
Robert de Garston - ijs. viijd. o'
Richard Morice - - ijs. ijd.
Henry Beaumond - ijs. jd. o'
Walter Beaumond - xvd. o' q'
Hugh Coy - - xjd. o' q.
Richard Brayn - - ijs. vd. q'
John de Camer - - iijs. q'
Margery Catewks' - - ijs.

ULLINGTON [same date]:

William Phelip - ijs. jd. q'
Stephen atte Yate - ijs. q'
Robert Blauncheberd - ijs.
Richard Thomen - - xxd.
Cecily Wilkines - xxiijd. o' q'
Alice Geffen - - ijs. jd.
Agnes Inthelon - xxjd. ob'
Walter Kayen - - xijd. q'

II.—Pebworthe; 34th and 35th Henry VIII. :—

John M'ten - - xiijs. iiijd.
William Kyght - - iijs. iiijd.
Roger Kyght - - xvjd.
John Bemonde - - iijd.
Laurence Wryght - - jd. ob.
Edmund M'ten - - - xd.

Thomas Kyght - - - xd.
John Mylner Smyth - xvjd.
John Ecleson - - - xd.
William Shacle - - xijd.
Edmund Harwarde - - viijd.
William Jerne - - xijd.
Richard Richeman - - iiijd.
John Campden - - xd.
Thomas Harward - - iijd.

BRODEM'STON [same date]:
John Shacle - xiijs. iiijd.
Laurence Benford - xiiijd.
John Belcher - - - xd.
Edmund Belcher - iiijd.
Thomas Harryson - - xvjd.
Richard Hawward - ijd. ob.
William Belcher - - iijd.
Robert Hardman - - iijd.

III.—PEBWORTH AND MERSTON; 1ST ELIZABETH:—

Thomas Marten - - vjs.
John Slatter - - - vijs.
William Camden - - vjs.
Thomas Harrys - - viijs.
Thomas Taylor al'Knight - xs.
William Hyerne - - xs.
Robert fforte - - - vijs.
Richard Kyte - - vjs.

IV.—PEBWORTH AND M'STON; 13TH ELIZABETH:—

Thomas Marten - - xiijs. iiijd.
William Hyern - xvjs. viijd.
Edmund Belcher - vjs. viijd.
Richard Kyte - xiijs. iiijd.
Thomas Busshell ar' (in terris, xxli.) - liijs. iiijd.
Edward Knight - - xs.
John Jones - - - vs.
Gilbert Snedehyll - xs.
Thomas Harris - vjs. viijd.
Robert Knight - - vs.

V.—PEBWORTH AND M'SON; 29TH ELIZABETH:—

Thomas Bushell Ar' (in terr,' xxvjli) - xxxiiijs. viijd.
John Yeate (in terr' iiijli), vs. iiijd.
John Slatter - - - iijs.
Thomas Harris - - vjs.
Robert M'ten, jun,' - - ixs.
John Hierne - - - iiijs.
Robert Knyght - - iijs.
Edward Knyght - - vjs.
Thomas Bonn' - - iijs.
Widdowe Kight - - xs.

The Rev. Thomas Rudge, in his short History of Gloucestershire, published in 1803, states that the manor of Pebworth was the property of Hugh Earl Fortescue; also that another manor "which had belonged to the Abbey of Evesham, was lately sold by . . . Martyn, Esq., to Shakle, who is now lord of this manor. Sir Alan Bushel was lord of the manor of Broad Marston in 1245, and was buried in Pebworth church. It continued in his family for eleven generations, till it passed to the Earl of Salisbury, whose descendant James Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury, was lord of the manor until it was sold about 1794 to Mr. Horseman. It has since been resold. Ullington belongs principally to Mr. Bennett."

EXTRACTS FROM PARISH REGISTERS; PEBWORTH.

Married:—

1615. Feb. 13. Johannes Torner et Maria Bushell ambo huius parochie.

Baptized:—

1595. Aug. 12. William Busshell the yonger the sonn of Mr Thomas Busshell the elder.
1596. July 26. Edward s. of Mr Thomas Bushell the . . .
1607. April 7. Bridges s. of Thomas Bushell.
1608. Jan. 10. Elner filia Thome Busshell generosi
1612. ... . Peterus Bushell baptizatus erat festo Sa'cti Peteri Junij 29.
1619. June 15. Henry s. of Mr Edward Busshell.
1620. Jan. 13. Only filia Edwardi Busshell Armig'.

Buried:—

1597. April 2 William s. of Mr. Busshell of Broad Marston.
1605. Oct. 29. Gulielmus Bushell gen'.
1615. June 10. Thomas Busshell Armiger.
1617. March 30. Elinora Bushell generosa.
1638. Feb. 12. Robert Bussell.

REGISTERS OF CLEEVE PRIOR.

Married:—

1608. Jan. 30. John Harward and Margaret Bushell.
1619. Oct. 23. Mr. John Norton and Mrs Dorrithie Busshell.
1630. Feb. George Cole, gent, and Mris Mary Bushell.
1634. Feb. 19. Edward Sauage and Anne Bushell.
1696. Aug. 6. Mr Rob: Bushell & Mad' Diana Fettiplace.

Baptized:—

1604. Sept. 1. Edward Bushell.
1605. Sept. 28. Leonard Bushell.
1606. Oct. 4. Ane Bushell.
1634. Aug. 19. Thomas s. of Edward Bushell.
1638. Nov. 8. William s. of Edward Busshell.
1642. (?) April 13. Matthew s. of Edward and Elizabeth Busshell.
1697. June 14. Thomas s. of Mr Robert Bushell.
1726. April 2 Edmund s. of Thomas Bushell Esqr & Frances his Lady.
1727. Feb. 29. Edward s. of Thomas Bushell Esqr. & Frances his Lady.
1729. Jan. 29. Robert s. of Thomas Bushell Esqr & Frances his Lady.
1733. June 26. Diana da. of Thomas Bushell Esqr & Frances his Lady.
1735. Oct. 9. Frances da. of Thomas Bushell Esqr & Frances his Lady.
1738. July 30. Mary da. of Thomas Bushell Esq. & Frances his Lady.
1742. Oct. 15. Arabella da. of Thomas Bushell Esq. & Frances his Lady.
1744. Aug. 31. Charles s. of Thomas Bushell Esq. & Frances his Lady.

BURIED :—

1610. March 31. William Bushell
1615. Jan. 17. Margaret Bushell.
1615. Jan. 20. Edward Bushell.
1661. Dec. 31. Mris Anne Bushell ye daughter of Mr Edw: Bushell
1662. Dec. 16. Mr Anthony Bushel.

[Anthony Bushell, of Cleeve Prior, compounded for his estate in the time of Cromwell. Letters of administration were granted 18 June, 1663, to his widow Anne,—Anne Harwell of Evesham, whom he married 10th April, 1650, at Norton-with-Lenchwick.]

1671. Sept. 26. Mr Edward Bushell, gent.
1680. May 28. Ann da. of Major Bushel.
1683. July 17. Mrs Ann Bushel.
1684. Sept. 17. Mrs Elizabeth Bushel wid: & Joyce her daughter.
1704. April 19. Thomas Bushell.

[Thomas Bushell of Cleeve Prior, co. Worcester, gent., made his will 8th November, 1698, leaving legacies to Elizabeth his wife, and his two nieces, Penelope Birch and Anne Birch. The "marke" of Thomas Bushell. Seal—the Bushell arms, viz., *a chevron between three water-bougets.* Crest, indistinct. Witnesses—Tho. Bushell, John Harward, Rob. Bushell, Edw. Bushell. Proved 5th October, 1704.]

1712. Jan. 14. Mr. Thomas Bushell.

[This Thomas made his will 16th June, 1705. To his wife Caecilia "the Deads yeare of & in a certaine ffarme in Cleeve aforesaid called Harbornes liveing;" also all my "Broad Gold," and all rings, jewels, &c., except the silver tankard which I give my nephew Thomas Bushell, and to the same Thomas £50 in money when he goes to Oxford. Legacies to my brother Mr. Edward Bushell; to my niece Elizabeth Davies; to my nephew Thomas Davies, who is under the age of 22; to my cousin Caecilia Sheldon, dau. of my brother-in-law Mr. John Sheldon; to my servants; to the poor inhabitants of Cleeve Prior. To my sister Diana Bushell, wife of my brother Mr. Robert Bushell (after the decease of my wife) the gold bracelets "wch have beene longtime p'serv'd in my ffamily." Residue of goods to Robert, my said brother and sole executor. Signed, Tho. Bushell. Seal—*on a fesse between three escallops as many eagles displayed.* Proved 21st November, 1713.]

1715. Dec. 21. Mr. Edward Bushell.
1716. Oct. 7 Cecilia Bushell widdow
1720. Oct. 6. Robert Bushell Esqr.
1726. April 18. Edmund s. of Thomas Bushel Esqr.
1728. April 21. Madam Bushell.
1728. Feb. 29. Edward s. of Tho. Bushell Esq.
1733. July 2. Diana da. of Thomas Bushell Esq. & Frances his Lady.
1799. Jan. 28. Robert Fettiplace Esqr of Swinebrook Park Oxon.
1805. Dec. 28. Charles Fettiplace Esqr Oxshire.

OBSERVATIONS UPON CERTAIN MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CHELTENHAM.

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE.

The unrivalled advantages which Cheltenham possesses as the centre of an extensive architectural district have long been recognised by antiquaries, and the structural beauties, or peculiarities, of Worcester, Gloucester, Evesham, Pershore, Tewkesbury, and Malvern, have been admirably elucidated by such masters as Petit, Willis, and Freeman, who have shown, for instance, the grand proportions of Tewkesbury Abbey, skilfully worked out the almost incredibly early date of the Perpendicular of Gloucester Cathedral, or unfolded the histories of the churches of Pershore and Evesham.

Nor are the parish churches in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham in any degree unworthy of the position which they occupy, and they have, fortunately, also received special attention from that antiquary, whose ready talent, sound judgment, and wide range of observation were only equalled by the artistic charm of his correct and facile pencil. Thus the fine cross church of Cheltenham, the Transitional churches of Bishop's Cleeve and Whittington, and the abundant examples of Decorated and Perpendicular architecture throughout the neighbourhood, attesting the munificence of the Gloucestershire magnates of the Middle Ages, have been happily and ably treated.[1] And the curious traveller who "wanders through the wreck of days departed," and, following in the footsteps of the late Mr. Petit, carefully examines these country churches will find much valuable detail to arrest his attention,

[1] Arch. Jour., Vol. iv., p. 97.

refined work in stone, wood, or glass, and occasionally the sculptured monumental effigies of the founders, or benefactors, of the churches where their bodies lie entombed.

But before proceeding to call attention to a few monumental effigies in this well-favoured neighbourhood, a digression may be made to consider certain sepulchral monuments at Worcester, Gloucester, Pershore, Tewkesbury, and Malvern.

The coeval Purbeck marble effigy of King John at Worcester, originally painted in "his habits as he lived," has been ruined in modern and evil times (in 1873) by a complete shroud of gilding, covering alike not only disintegrations and fractures, but also the evidences of the ancient decorations; a new gilt brass coronet has also been fixed on the royal brows and over the original marble circlet. Here is certainly a startling result of the fancy at Westminster, a few years ago, for cleaning the bronze effigies in the Abbey—a marble statue gilded to imitate one of gilt bronze!

The effigy of King John, the earliest recumbent regal figure in England,[1] was however, luckily, fully illustrated in the early part of this century,[2] by Mr. Charles Stothard, whose untimely death in 1821 is still to be deplored. The original colours of the costume of the effigy were carefully deciphered by this able artist in 1813, and his tinted etchings are valuable records of a decorative treatment, the evidences of which the recklessness of modern restoration has obliterated for ever.[3]

[1] The nearly life-size figures of Henry I. and his Queen, standing on either side of the western doorway of Rochester Cathedral, are highly interesting examples of costume and sculpture of their period.

[2] Stothard's Monumental Effigies, p. 15.

[3] It appears from Symond's rather ambiguous notes on Worcester Cathedral, written in 1645, and now preserved in the British Museum, that certain gilding was done to the effigy in the time of Elizabeth. If this was really the case it must have been in consequence of the proclamations issued in the 2nd and 14th of her reign, respecting the preservation of royal monuments, but it is much more likely that "cloth of gold of crimson" was originally represented on the dalmatic. That the crimson and other colours were evident to Stothard cannot be doubted, for Wild speaks of the crimson and gold dalmatic; and Hewitt, in his new edition of Stothard (p. 31,) mentions the "distinct remains of illumination and gilding throughout."

The dignified figure of Edward II., under its magnificent and elaborate canopy at Gloucester, has been equally well illustrated by the same truthful hand,[1] and although the baneful fingers of the restorer have been directed more than once towards this exceedingly beautiful monument, it is a matter for the highest congratulation that the actual tomb of Edward II. has never been made the object of so-called "historic doubts." For the last resting-place of the agonising victim of the French she-wolf at Berkeley, remains one of the very few royal mediæval tombs that have not been meddled with[2]—thrice ransacked, lastly in 1868, like the tomb of Rufus at Winchester, the body uncoffined and thrown into the river, like that of Stephen at Faversham, or needlessly opened and the royal carcass exposed to idle gaze and pilfering fingers,[3] like the coffin of King John in 1797, when the remains of the historic monk's cowl, the passport of the worst, though ablest, of the Angevins, through Purgatory, were revealed, recalling the words of Milton :

> "And they, who to be sure of Paradise,
> Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised."—
> *Paradise Lost*, Book III., 478.

With regard further to "historic doubts :"—the tomb of Edw I. at Westminster was unclosed in 1774, with the view of ascertaining the meaning of the royal warrants so frequently issued in the

[1] Stothard, p. 45.

[2] The earliest engraving of the tomb and canopy is in Sandford's Genealogical History (1707), p. 153. From this it appears that the canopy underwent some slight alterations when it was restored, or re-built, by the Society of Oriel College—of which Edward II. was the founder—in 1737, 1789, and 1793. Some years ago, when Scott restored the choir of the cathedral, portions of flying buttresses, &c., corresponding with the work of the canopy, were found buried beneath the high altar. When the canopy was again restored, a few years ago, portions of it were found to be of plaster, belonging to the period when the members of Oriel College "instaurari curaverunt."

[3] A workman stole a royal finger-bone, and sent it to London to be tipped with silver for a tobacco stopper, but it was lost on the road. An individual carried off some of "the dry skins of maggots," and went a-fishing for three days in the Severn, and finally caught a dace.—See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. II., part I., p. 331, and Greene's Account of the Opening, &c.

reigns of Edward III., and his two immediate successors: "De cera renovanda circa corpus regis Edwardi primi." The body was found, closely dressed in a cere-cloth of fine linen, retaining its exact, though wasted form, and habited, *more regio*, in rich garments.[1] Under the pressure of another "historic doubt," the coffin of Henry IV., at Canterbury was laid open in 1832; and in 1789 the body of Edward IV. was exposed to view in St. George's Chapel, when a quantity of long brown hair was seen. But the exceeding desire for truthfulness in history was, perhaps, strongest in 1832, when the Prince Regent personally directed a search for the remains of Charles I. and an enquiry into the manner of the king's death. A leaden coffin, clearly inscribed "KING CHARLES, 1648," was found in Henry VIII's vault, and, on this being most needlessly cut open,[2] the royal head was found to be detached from the body, as might have been expected, even if Clarendon's ponderous history had never been written. But these eager historical students did not lose the opportunity of possessing themselves of two cervical vertebræ,[3] diagonally severed, and of portions of the king's "beautiful dark brown" hair, said to have been so well recognized by Vandyck's portraits.[4] On this occasion the "First Gentleman in Europe" had the satisfaction of seeing in the coffin of Henry VIII., which had been violently broken into on a former occasion, a mere skeleton of a man![5]

The "grim repose" of the remains of Richard II. and his Queen was much broken in the last century by visitors to the abbey and by Westminster boys, who were then able to pass their

[1] Ayloffe's Account of the Body, &c., Archæologia, Vol. III., p. 376. On this occasion a noted antiquary underwent a search for the embezzlement of a finger of the great Plantagenet.

[2] Halford's Account of the opening, &c.

[3] Now in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons.

[4] Towards the end of the year 1648, the king's hair was "all grey," Clarendon, Vol. IV., p. 473.

[5] At the time of the interment of Charles I. a soldier hid himself in the vault, and, being greedy of prey, cut some velvet from the pall of Henry VIII., and having wimbled a hole in the coffin, stole a royal bone, with which he desired to haft a knife.—*Herbert's Memoirs*, p. 202.

hands into the royal tomb through certain holes formerly existing on the south side of the grave. This tomb was first opened in 1871, when its strange contents were carefully examined and the remaining bones properly "arranged." In the same year the tomb of Henry III. was opened and the king's coffin seen to be wrapped in cloth of gold. A determination was arrived at that this coffin should be uncovered and its contents investigated, but at the last moment the project was very rightly abandoned.[1]

It has thus happened through the force of circumstances, the "swift illapse of accident disastrous," or curious zeal for knowledge, that English royal tombs have been much disturbed and desecrated; but there can be no doubt that the interest with which some antiquaries now contemplate such monuments as those of Edw. II. and the Black Prince is considerably enhanced by the feeling that they have been handed down to the present time in an intact and genuine condition.

In Gloucester Cathedral are the recumbent effigies, in white marble, of Abraham Blackleach, who died in 1639, and Gertrude, his wife. The design of these admirable figures has been attributed by Walpole to Vandyck,[2] but the name of the sculptor is not known. Dallaway thought they were the work either of Hubert le Soeur or Francis Fanelli,[3] two of the numerous men of genius, who were attracted to this country by the enlightened taste of Charles I. These figures certainly have much of the general characteristics of the works of Nicholas Stone, but their extreme delicacy and grace seem to point to Fanelli both as the designer and sculptor.

In Pershore Church may be seen an effigy,[4] unusual in this country, of a knight wearing a horn, which is attached by a strap and buckle to his sword-belt. This perhaps represents a ranger, or verderer, such as the figure, in lay costume, in the church of Glinton, near Peterborough, of the early part of the XIV.

[1] Archæologia Vol., xlv., pp. 309-327.
[2] Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. ii., p. 164 (Edit., 1786).
[3] Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1818, p. 498.
[4] Arch. Jour., Vol. xx., p. 158, paper by Mr. M. H. Bloxam.

century, with a horn, bow, and arrows, or that of Junkyn Wyrall, in the churchyard of Newland, in the county of Gloucester, which is dated 1457.[1] It is an open question whether this curious figure at Pershore does not represent a knight, who held by cornage, or horn-geld. Montfaucon gives an example, in France[2], of an effigy of a man with a horn, "Guillaume Malgeneste veneur du roi, mort en 1306." The usual manner of fastening the mail hood upon the head was by tying up a flap on the right or left side, over the ear, by a lace. In the example at Pershore this flap is unfastened, and hangs down, showing the right side of the face of the figure.

In Dingley's *History from Marble*, compiled in the reign of Charles II.,[3] is a pen and ink drawing of this effigy, in a perfect state, with the feet resting on a recumbent lion; the legs are now broken off above the ancles, and the whole figure is much abraised; there is no record or tradition as to whom the figure represents.[4]

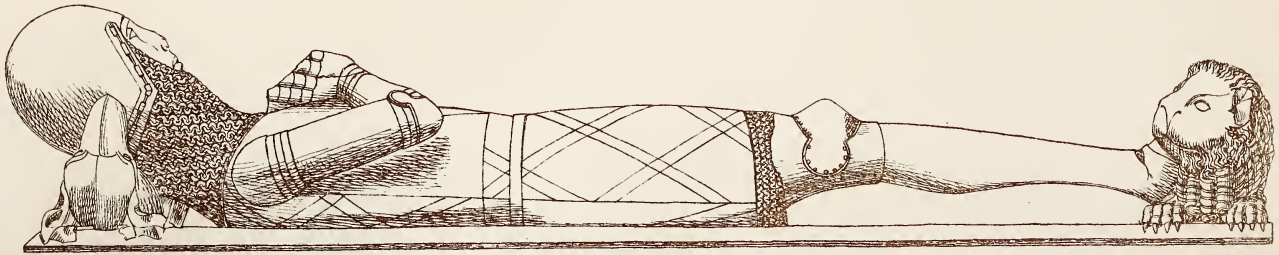
In Tewkesbury Abbey, perhaps the most impressive and solemn interior in this country, the effigies of Hugh Despencer and Guy de Bryan, under their noble canopies,[5] have surely a fitting and worthy abode. That of Hugh Despencer, son of Hugh Despencer the younger, lies on the right side of his wife, Elizabeth Montacute, and represents a youthful and beardless man. He wears a spherical bascinet, to which a camail of chain mail is attached, by laces threaded through staples in the usual way;[6]

[1] Engraved in Sir H. Dryden's Art of Hunting, p. 64 (Privately printed, 1843.) [2] Monarchie Française, Pl. XCIV., fig. 6. [3] Vol. II., p. CCLXX., Edited for the Camden Society, by J. Gough Nichols, 1868.

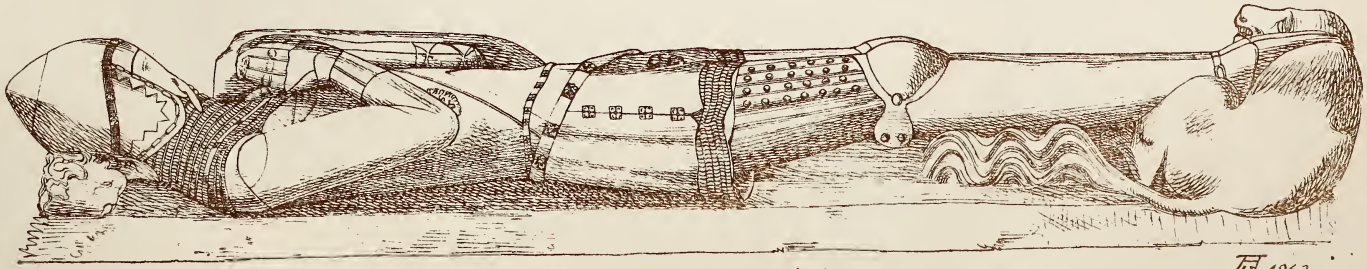
[4] In Nash's History of Worcestershire it is stated, apparently erroneously, that his feet rested upon a hare, hence it was supposed that a member of the Harewell family was represented.

[5] The perusal of such few contracts for canopied tombs as have come down to us—such, for instance, as that for making the canopied tomb and effigies of Ralph Greene and his wife, in Lowick Church, Northamptonshire, in 1420, first printed in that rare book; "Halstead's Genealogies" sufficiently show how important a feature the open canopy was, and the numerous instances exisiting of the bases of such canopies as those at Tewkesbury, indicate their frequent occurrence, and the vast amount of beauty which our churches have lost by their destruction or decay.

[6] "Pour six onces de soie de diverses couleurs á faire les las á mettre les camaux aux dits bacinets"—Comp. Steph. de la Fontaine, Argentar, Reg. 1 Jan., 1349.



HUGH DESPENCER. DIED 1349.



one foot.

F.H. 1863.

EFFIGY IN TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

a jupon charged with these arms: *quarterly, az. and gu., the second and third quarters fretty or, over all a bend sa.*,[1] and a hauberk, or possibly only a skirt of mail. The sword is slung from a plain horizontal baudric by a loop from a single locket attached to the top of the scabbard; the arms and legs are encased in plate, the head rests upon a tilting helm, having a griffin's head as crest, and the feet upon a lion. The shape of the bascinet is remarkable, and, while the whole costume points to the middle of the third quarter of the XIV. century, this date is further corroborated by the style and details of the tomb and canopy. The whole monument was, no doubt, erected some years after Hugh Despencer's death. (*Plate* III.) The costume of the lady presents nothing unusual. She wears a square head-dress, such as appears on the figure of Queen Philippa in Westminster Abbey; both effigies are carved with great delicacy in fine white alabaster, and have much dignity and simplicity of outline.

Hugh Despencer, the younger, who was slaughtered with such shocking barbarity at Hereford, 1326, married Eleanor, the eldest of the three daughters of the last Gilbert de Clare, who was slain at Bannockburn, in 1314; by this marriage Tewkesbury passed to the Despencers.

Hugh his son, the subject of this effigy, was born after 1313, and had livery of the lands of his mother's inheritance on her death in 1337. He succeeded to the

> "Memories of power and pride which long ago,
> Like dim processions of a dream had sunk
> In twilight depths away—"

and was actively engaged in the business of war, during the greater period of his short life. He was in an expedition into Gascony in 1333, and in the wars in Scotland in 1335 and 1338; he was in Flanders in the following year, and again in Scotland two years later, and was much occupied in the French wars up to 1347.

[1] These colours were visible to Carter in 1789, Archæologia, Vol. xiv., p. 144. In Nicolas's Roll of Arms of Peers and Knights, compiled between 1308 and 1314, the arms of this Hugh are given as: *quarterly arg. and gu. the second and third quarters fretty or, a bend sa, and a label az.* The modern Spencer *fret* is of course a corruption from the ancient bearing.

He was summoned to parliament from 12th to 22nd Edward III., married Elizabeth, widow of Giles de Baddlesmere, and daughter of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and, dying in 1349,[1] was buried "juxta summum altare in dextera parte,"[2] leaving Edward, son of his brother of the same name, his next heir, then twelve years old.

The effigy of Guy de Bryan is carved in soft stone; it has been painted, gilded, and silvered, but, like the canopy, has suffered greatly from mutilation and decay. He wears a bascinet with a camail attached by a red lace; a jupon charged with the Bryan arms: *Or, three piles meeting in base, az.*, the field being stamped in *gesso*, with a diapered pattern. The arms, to the elbows, are covered by the mail sleeves of the habergeon, and to the wrist with plates worked in longitudinal strips. The legs are protected by chausses of mail, with further defences of strips or splints, and the whole figure has been covered with leaf silver, painted or gilded in parts. The mail, which is chain throughout, and stamped in *gesso*, is of three sizes, the links in the camail being the largest. The lower part of the left arm, the hands, and the sword have vanished. On the side of the tomb are the following coats: in the centre Bryan, and on either side Bryan impaling Montacute.[3] The roof over the figure has an appearance of great intricacy, though the design is in fact simple enough, being no more than a cross vault obtained by the intersection of trefoil-arched instead of plain arched cells.

During the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. no one appears to have been more constantly, or more variously, engaged in the public service than the distinguished man here represented. He was standard bearer at the battle of Calais in 1349, in 1354 an ambassador to Rome, in the following year in an expedition with the king against the French, and in 1350, 1369, and 1370, he was employed in the French wars. He was admiral of the

[1] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., pp. 389-398.

[2] Tewkesbury Register.

[3] Stothard gives two etchings of this interesting effigy, pl. 96 and 97 p. and a restored elevation of the tomb and canopy. See also Hefner's Trachten des Christlichen Mittelalters.

king's fleet against the French in 1371, and subsequently took part in the wars against the Scots, and received the Order of the Garter. In 1377 and 1378 he served by land and sea against France, and went with Edward Mortimer, in his expedition to Ireland. He was summoned to parliament from 24 Edward II., to 13th Richard II., and died in 1390, at the age of 90. He married Elizabeth, widow of Hugh Despencer,[1] above mentioned. She died in 1359, and was buried by the side of her second husband.[2]

The figure of Edward Despencer, kneeling towards the high altar, under a curious open canopy, upon the top of the Trinity Chapel, on the south side of the choir, claims special attention, since, probably from its elevated position, it appears to have never been measured and drawn.

The knight kneels upon a tasselled cushion, an altogether unusual attitude for an effigy of this period, and is represented in the well-known military equipments of the last quarter of the XIV. century. The mail skirts, the links of the camail, the diapered armorials, the face and other parts of the figure have been carefully painted to the life, and the whole remains in tolerable condition, forming a most valuable example of the polychromatic style of treatment of the generality of effigies of this time. The back view is interesting, because it so seldom occurs in monumental sculpture; but there is no indication of the manner in which the horizontal baudric was kept in its place and prevented from slipping over the hips when the wearer was not on horseback. Great as is the value of all monumental effigies they do not explain many small details of costume on which students would desire to be more accurately informed, and comparatively little is known about many small pieces of armour which were worn partially or entirely out of sight. The effigy of "Brass Beauchamp," at Warwick, being finished in all its details, both back and front, is of the utmost value to students of armour

[1] Dugdale's Baronage, ut sup.

[2] Jacet cum nobili viro suo primo marito in tumba satis præclaro cum imaginibus de marmore alba.—*Tewkesbury Register.*

of his period.[1] But one may be really thankful, in such days of changes and restorations, that so much of interest has been spared in a single effigy at Tewkesbury, which has never been tampered with since it was first put up. It will be observed that the jupon is charged in front and behind with the arms of Despencer, the field of the quarters being diapered (*Plate* IV.) These latter decorations do not often appear on effigies in these days, because they were usually only painted as in this case. Good sculptured examples may be seen on the shield of an effigy to a De Vere, at Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex.[2] The double picture of arms on a jupon was, of course, the precursor of the four-fold representation on knightly tabards.

Edward Despencer was six years old at the death of his father, and then under the care of Bartholomew de Burghersh. He was present at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, and subsequently much employed in the wars in France until 1371, and Froissart has described him as "a great Baron and a good Knight." In 1373 he led the van of the Duke of Lancaster's expedition into France; he was summoned to parliament from 31st to 47th Edward III., was tenth Knight of the Garter of the first creation in 1350, and died in 1375 at his castle of Cardiff. He bequeathed his body to be buried in the Abbey of Tewkesbury, near his ancestors, on the south part, and was buried before the door of the vestry near the choir, "ante ostium vestiariæ juxta presbiterium." He married Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew de Burghersh; she built the chapel of the Holy Trinity as a monument for him.[3]

The painted glass at Tewkesbury, unsurpassed as it is in brilliancy of colour and subtleness of arrangement, is rendered still more interesting by the eight military figures which are to be seen in the windows of the choir. "Pride in their port, defiance in their eye," they stand under rich canopies, carrying lances in their right hands and wearing ailettes. The mixture of mail and

[1] The effigy, in gilt brass, of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. died 1439, is the work of Bartholomew Lambespring and William Austen, Dugdale published the contract for the tomb. Stothard gives four etchings of the figure, three of them by his own delicate hand—p. 91.

[2] Stothard, p. 34. [3] Dugdale's Bar., ut sup.

EDWARD DESPENCER. DIED 1375.

plate in their harness fixes the date of these figures to the early part of the 2nd quarter of the XIV. century, the most important period of military costume. No. 1 is said to be the figure of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I.; No. 2 represents Robert Fitz Hamon, the founder of the monastery; Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are De Clares; No. 7 is a Zouche; and No. 8 a Despencer. If, as it is most probable, these windows were set up by Eleanor, widow of Hugh Despencer the younger, the four effigies of De Clares are the memorials of her immediate ancestors, viz.: Gilbert de Clare, who died at Penros, in Brittany, in 1230; Richard, who died at Eschmerfield, in Kent, in 1262; Gilbert, who died in Monmouth Castle in 1295; and Gilbert, her father, who was slain at Bannockburn in 1314; all of whom were buried in the choir at Tewkesbury. No. 7 is the figure of Eleanor's second husband, William la Zouche, of Mortimer; and No. 8, which exhibits on the surcote the arms of Despencer impaling De Clare, certainly represents Hugh Despencer the younger, whose mangled remains were gathered up and brought for burial to the abbey church.[1] All these figures are clearly identified by the heraldry on their surcotes[2]

In Tewkesbury Abbey may also be seen an effigy which has been commonly, but wrongly, attributed to Lord Wenlock, who was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. It is evidently a monument of about the middle of the XIV. century, and it presents some remarkable points of costume. A knight is represented wearing a pointed bascinet, with a camail of "banded mail" fastened to it with a lace in the usual manner, and a surcote charged like the shield, with the arms—*a chevron between three leopards' faces langued*, and closed with clasps on the right side. The thighs are protected by one of the numerous varieties of studded defence, of which the construction cannot be exactly made out. The feet are devoid of sollerets, and, apparently, covered by hose, implying the use of footed stirrups.

[1] "Enormiter, pertitiose et crudeliter sine judicio et responsione, suspensus, distractus, et in quatuor partes divisus fuit; et in nostra ecclesia diu postea sepultus."—*Tewkesbury Register*.

[2] The Rev. J. H. Blunt's "Tewkesbury Abbey and its Associations" contains much valuable historical information.

For the last 100 years the construction of mediæval banded mail has occupied the attention and exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries, yet, at the present day, it cannot be said that its exact formation has been precisely determined; and this is the more remarkable because it is constantly represented during the greater part of the XIV. century in illuminated MSS., on sepulchral brasses, painted glass, seals, &c., and it occurs upon four sculptured monumental effigies of which the example at Tewkesbury is one.[1]

With regard to the individual here represented, the armorial bearings give no definite information, for the colours have fled. In the Rolls of Arms quoted above, in a *note*, the following entry occurs: "Monsire de Lughtburgh, *de gules a une chevron d'argent, entre trois testes de leopardes d'or*," but there is no record that connects this man with Tewkesbury. Recent investigations have shown that the tomb and effigy, in all probability, do not occupy their original positions. Dingley gives some curious notes and sketches of the Tewkesbury monuments, pp. CCCXXXIII-CCCLVIII.

In the abbey church of Great Malvern is the effigy of a knight of the latter part of the XIII. century, bearing a martel, or horseman's hammer, the *bisacutum*, and on his left arm a circular targe. This martel may not be confounded with the mace, or masuel, of later time, such as are represented as the special weapons of sergeants-at-arms in the Church of St. Denis, near Paris. This monument appears to represent William de Braci, of whom it is recorded in the Annals Eccl. Wigorn, in Angl. Sacra, *i*: "Anno 1289, 17—Cal. Januarii, Willemus de Braci fuit sepultus apud Malverniam majorem." Stothard gives two etchings of the figure.

With regard to effigies in the immediate neighbourhood of Cheltenham, there is, at Bishop's Cleeve, a cross-legged figure of a knight[2] of the latter end of the reign of Henry III., wearing a hood, hauberk, and chausses of mail, a long surcote, and carrying

[1] The others are at Dodford, Northamptonshire; Tollard Royal, Wiltshire; and Newton Solney, Derbyshire.

[2] It is badly engraved in Lysons' Gloucestershire, Plate LVIII., and lies under a canopy to which it does not appear to belong.

EFFIGIES AT WHITTINGTON AND BISHOP'S CLEEVE.

a plain shield on his left arm. He is drawing a sword from a scabbard, apparently fixed to the sword-belt in the following manner:—the long strap of the belt is fastened to the mouth of the scabbard, passing round the body behind and through the buckle in front. The short, or buckle-strap, passes over the scabbard in front and is looped immediately below. Then occurs, still lower, a separate and narrow lace, coming from behind the scabbard and carefully tied in front of it in a "sennit" knot (*Pl.* v.)

The occurrence of the little knot on the scabbards of effigies of this period is frequent, but the arrangements connected with it are not always so clear as in the accurately sculptured effigy of Sir John de Lyons (died 1312), at Warkworth, near Banbury. In this example the scabbard is attached to the sword-belt as follows:—the long strap is looped to the scabbard at about one-third of its length from the top, passing round the body and through the buckle in front. The end of the buckle-strap is slit into two equal parts, one of which is laced into the upper end of the scabbard, while the other, passing behind it, and above the loop of the long strap, is again slit into two thongs, of which the ends appear in front, below the long strap loop, and are expended in a little knot. Here the general arrangements are somewhat different but, owing to the more careful work of the Warkworth sculptor, perfectly plain and practical, though the exact use of the final tie is not yet explained. The sword belts of two fine effigies of the Alard family in Winchelsea Church give just the information that is required, and they show in their minute details, and in the clearest manner, that the final thongs of the buckle strap were laced into the back, or side, of the scabbard loop of the long strap for the purpose of preventing it from slipping down the narrowing scabbard, and then tied in front. Some diffuseness in comparative archæology has resulted in calling attention to this somewhat puzzling, though small detail of military costume, but it may be borne in mind that, from the nature of the material of which the sword belts of this period were made, there are absolutely no original examples to explain the point.

The whole of the mail on the effigy at Bishop's Cleeve has been stamped upon the plain stone surface in *gesso*, by no means a common mode of treatment, and one involving much trouble and nicety of execution, for the rounded forms made it necessary to stamp only a small portion at a time, and in those parts where the mail still remains the delicacy of handling is obvious. There is otherwise nothing unusual about the figure. It is one of an extremely common type in this country, but it may be observed that no two effigies are precisely similar, each one has its own particular varieties of detail of costume, no doubt copied from actual examples,[1] and this individuality is precisely what makes all mediæval work, of whatever kind, so very valuable.[2]

In Bishop's Cleeve Church is also an effigy of a lady of the time of Henry VII., habited in a gown, a cote-hardi, and a cloak fastened in the very usual manner by a long tasselled cord passing across the chest and through eyelet-holes in the cloak. The lady's hair is braided, and she wears a loose and badly arranged wimple, a degenerate descendant of the beautifully-folded face cloths and kerchiefs of the XIV. century. On her head she wears a pedimental head-dress with long ungainly lappets which, becoming gradually more ornamental, ended by being made of open reticulated work, and were pinned up at the sides, as in many of Holbein's portraits, and suddenly entirely vanished on the death of Henry VIII. The two cherubs supporting the cushion, feathered down to their feet, are affectedly and unusually treated.

In Whittington Church are two effigies in stone of the early part of the XIV. century; the armorial bearings on their shields

[1] For instance, the church of Weston, near Shifnal, the wooden effigy of John de Weston, represents the knight with a small purse hanging from the sword belt on the right side. This man was appointed attorney to the Princess Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, and had charge of the jewels which she took with her into Flanders, whither she went with her father Edward I., Aug. 29, 1297. The purse doubtless represents the badge of office. Journal of Arch. Ass., Vol. XVIII., p. 320. Hartshorne's Expense Roll of the Princess Elizabeth, Countess of Holland and Hereford.

[2] It is pretty certain that, with a few notable exceptions, such as the figures of Henry III., and that of Eleanor of Castile, at Westminster, monumental effigies were as accurate portraits of the deceased as the art of the time could produce.

show them to be members of the ancient family of Crupes. The Roll of Arms of Peers and Knights in the reign of Edward II. gives the arms of this family thus: "*Sir Richard de Crupes, de argent a vi. mascles de goules e un label de azure.*" It will be observed that fusils, and not mascles, are shown on the shield; this was doubtless a blunder on the part of the local sculptor.[1] The effigies represent Richard de Crupes, died 1278, and his son of the same name, who was living in 1316. Richard de Crupes possessed the manors of Whittington in the time of Henry III., and had a grant of markets, fairs, and free warren here in 1256. This grant was allowed in the proceedings on a writ of *quo warranto* in 15th Edw. I., and the family appear to have flourished at Whittington until the middle of the XIV. century.[2] A peculiarity about these effigies, which are doubtless the work of the same sculptor, and resemble each other generally, is an extra protection or facing-piece over the brow and temples. They both exhibit surcotes of great length, hauberks, and quilted gambesons, and are carved with much freedom and simplicity *(Pl.* v).

[1] It must be remembered that in the XIII. and XIV. centuries, in the generality of cases, effigies were sculptured where the stone was to be found, and not in London as at the present day. Where stone was not plentiful, wooden effigies most abound. This state of affairs, the natural result of circumstances, accounts, in a great measure, for the vast amount of local talent which was engendered and fostered throughout the kingdom. Alabaster effigies were carved in Derbyshire, chiefly at Chellaston and Hartshorne, but work in this material belongs to a later time, for alabaster did not come into general use until the latter half of the XIV. century. The earliest effigy in this material in England appears to be that beautiful figure in Westminster Abbey, of John of Eltham, who died in 1334.

It appears from an Indenture in Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. VIII, p. 510, that both English artists and English alabaster had acquired some reputation on the continent, for in 1405, Thomas Colyne and two others obtained a safe conduct from the king to enable them to take to Brittany an alabaster monument which they had made to the memory of John IV., Duke of Brittany, who died in 1339, and they erected it in the Cathedral of Nantes. It was greatly mutilated before 1705, and it is needless to say that it was finally demolished at the Revolution. A good engraving of the tomb and effigy is given in "Dom Pierre Hyacinthe Morice's Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne." The duke is shown wearing a collar charged with little animals representing ermines, in allusion to the fabled origin of his arms.

[2] Atkyns' History of Gloucestershire, p. 427.

In the same church is a stone effigy, of no great merit, of a lady wearing a gown and wimple, probably the wife of one of the men. Portions of the sides of the altar tomb contain the arms of Crupes twice repeated, and barry of six upon long heater-shaped shields.

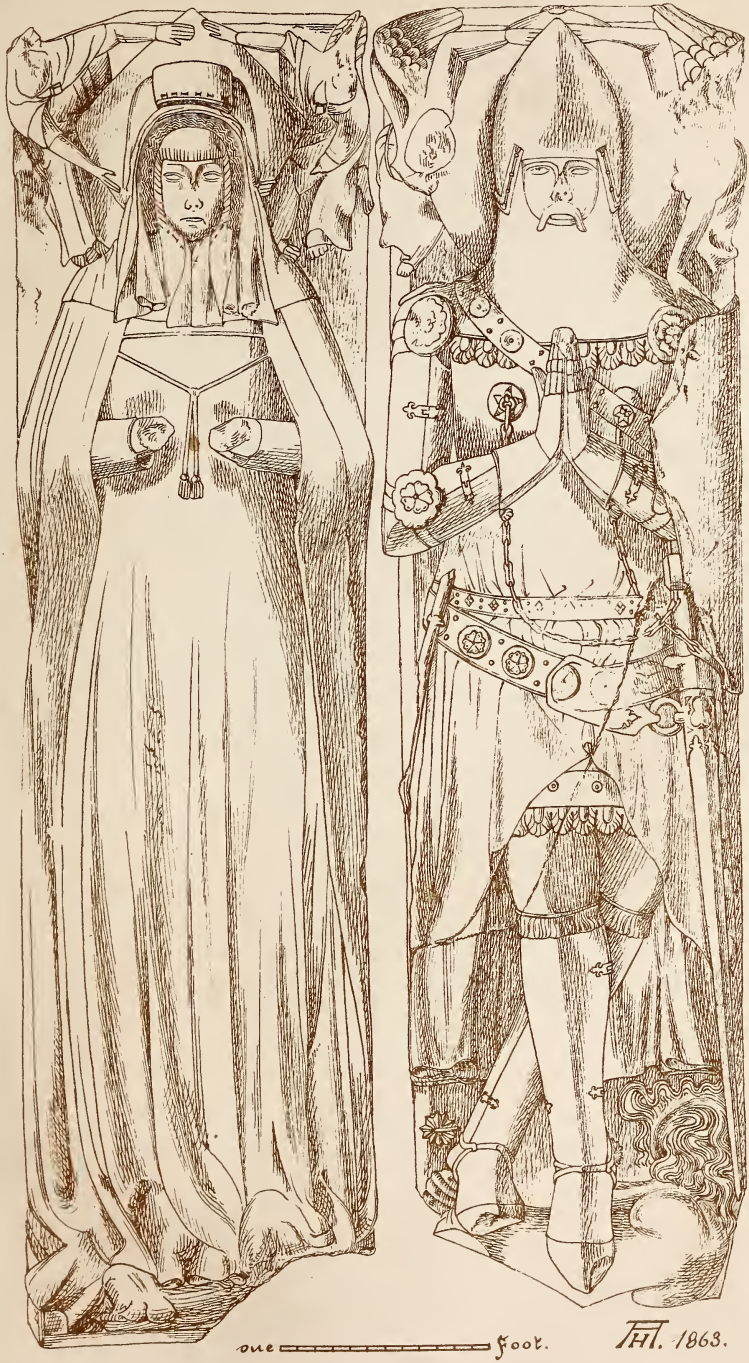
In Leckhampton Church is the curious effigy of a knight wearing an elaborate costume of the early part of the reign of Edward III., with the very uncommon additions of mamellières or chains from the breasts to the sword hilt and scabbard. It is obvious that the practical use of mamellières must have been very slight if they were fixed to nothing more rigid than the substance of a linen surcote. Perhaps this explains why they are so seldom represented on effigies in this country. A bas-relief at Lucca, dated 1391, shows that these chains were sometimes attached to a defence of plate worn under the surcote, but there is no evidence of such an arrangement in this case.[1] The high pointed bascinet, and the fringed camail, hauberk, and genouillères are remarkable, and it would appear that these fringed garments are rather peculiar to the western counties.[2] The occurrence of the cross-legged attitude so long after the Crusades is a sufficient proof, if any were needed, that the position is a mere conventionality. There are no cross-legged figures on the continent. This figure has been somewhat disregarded by English writers upon costume;[3] its resemblance to an effigy of a Blanchfront at Alvechurch, in Worcestershire, cannot be overlooked; both figures are doubtless the production of the same sculptor.[4] The manor of Leckhampton was held *in capite* by the service of performing the office of steward at the great festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide; Sir John Giffard, no doubt the subject of this effigy, died seized of the manor in 3rd Edward III. (1327).[5]

[1] The chain attached to Sir Roger de Trumpington's helm and fastened to his cingulum is a much more sensible plan.

[2] Examples may be seen in Hereford Cathedral on an effigy said to be a Bohun, at Abergavenny to a Hastings, and at Clehongre, near Hereford.

[3] It is engraved, and fancifully coloured, in Hefner's Trachten.

[4] Stothard, p. 58. [5] Atkyns ut sup., p. 277.



JOHN GIFFARD DIED 1327. AND HIS WIFE.

The costume of the lady offers nothing remarkable, the pins fixing the folds of the wimple are unusual. Both figures are carved in a soft stone *(Pl.* VI.*)*

In the Church of Coberley, a building of considerable interest, is an enshrined heart, in front of which, under a trefoil-headed niche and within an oval, is a small demi-figure of a knight in a hooded hauberk, holding a plain heater-shaped shield upon which a heart is represented.[1] It is stated in Nash's Worcestershire that the heart of one of the Lords Berkeley was here interred. Here is also an effigy of a man, of the early part of the XIV. century, habited in a long gown, with his hair arranged in large curls at the sides of the face, "lockys crull as layed in press;" a figure of a cross-legged knight in a surcote, hauberk, &c., one of his wife in a long gown, and a diminutive female effigy, about a yard long.[2]

[1] Engraved in Lyson's Gloucestershire, Pl. I.

[2] Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, VI., p. 405, with very bad engravings.

CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, BISHOP'S CLEEVE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By J. HENRY MIDDLETON, F.S.A.

(Fellow of the Archæological Societies of Athens and Rome).

Read in the Church, 9th July, 1879.

CLEEVE, which is called Bishop's Cleeve on account of its Religious Foundation belonging to the See of Worcester, and to distinguish it from Prior's Cleeve, in Saxon times was called Clive or Wendlesclive.

King Offa of Mercia, in or about the year 790, founded here a Priory, or College of Canons.[1]

The following mention of Cleeve occurs in the Domesday Survey.

"The church of St. Mary of Wirecester held Clive in the Tetboldestan Hundred in the reign of William. It was taxed at 30 hides. There were 23 plough-lands, whereof three were in demesne. There was a small wood belonging to it. Durand, the sheriff, held 6 hides in Surham of this manor. A freeman held 4 hides in Sapleton, & Tustin the Son of Ralph held 6 hides in Godrinton, of this manor. There were 21 plough lands in those lands, whereof 8 were in demesne. Bernard and Reynold

[1] A Charter, granted by Offa, is printed in the Mon. Angl. I., 125. The title of it is—"Charta Offæ Regis, de Timbingetun Monasterio, *aet Clive*, vocato congresso quod monasterium postea ad ecclesiam Wigornien-sem devenit."

For a charter of Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, dated 888, see Heminge "de redditu eccl. Wigorn," p. 118. In 888, through the instrumentality of King Alfred, the religious Foundation was made subject to the See of Worcester.—J.H.M.

See also numerous entries in the "Register of Worcester Priory," edited for the Camden Society, 1865, by Archdeacon Hale.—ED.

held 8 hides in Stoches. The whole manor paid a yearly rent of 36£ in the reign of Edward. It pays 26£ in King William's reign." Ulstan at the date of the Survey was Bishop of Worcester.

The advowson of the Rectory also came into possession of the See of Worcester. In 1215 Walter de Grey, Bishop of Worcester, granted it to the Abbey at Worcester, which, in the same year, leased the great tithes, and appointed as vicar one of their own monks named Robert. It remained in the hands of the Bishops of Worcester until it was conveyed to Sir Thos. Seymour, Lord Sudeley, on whose attainder it fell to the crown, and Queen Elizabeth, in the 21st year of her reign, granted it, together with Bushcombe wood and the chapelry of Stoke Orchard (or Archer) to Sir Christopher Hatton.

The church is still a Peculiar exempt from the visitation of the Archdeacon but subject to the Bishop of the Diocese. Until recently the rector exercised archidiaconal functions, proved wills, and granted letters of Administration.

Two rectors of Cleeve have been raised to the Episcopal bench: John Parkhurst was made Bishop of Norwich, in 1560, and Dr. William Nicholson, Bishop of Gloucester, in 1660.

The Church of St. Michael and All Angels.

The plan has been a great deal altered, but, with the exception of the length of the Chancel, there is ample evidence to show what it originally was. In style it is of the Transitional character from Norman to Early English, a style which lasted from about 1150 to 1190. From the details and general design of the Porch and Western turrets it would seem to belong to the latter part of this period.

The original church, consisted of a Nave with narrow aisles, a South Porch with a room over it, two Transepts, a central Tower, and a Chancel. At the west end two winding stair-cases led to a narrow Western Gallery. These stairs form external turrets, or large pinacles, very similar to those at Bredon Church, near Tewkesbury.

It will be convenient first to trace out this original plan, and afterwards to examine the later additions and alterations.

Outside—West End.—The high Turrets, enriched with chevrony arcading, form a very striking feature. They are both, unfortunately, pushed very much out of the perpendicular by the thrust of the nave arcade, and an enormous buttress has been added, in the 14th or 15th century, for the support of that on the north side.

One reason of this failure is owing to the Turrets being much weakened by the hollow of the rather wide staircase that each contains. The original Norman West doorway is an extremely rich one; it is very perfect with the exception of two columns, probably of marble, which have been taken away (*Plate* VII., N.N.) On each side of this doorway there are traces of a Dedication Cross (*see fig.* 9). At the south angle the end of the original South Aisle still remains. There is evidence inside the church to show that the North Aisle was exactly the same, though no part of its walls is now standing.

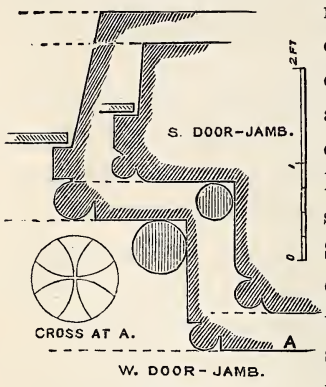
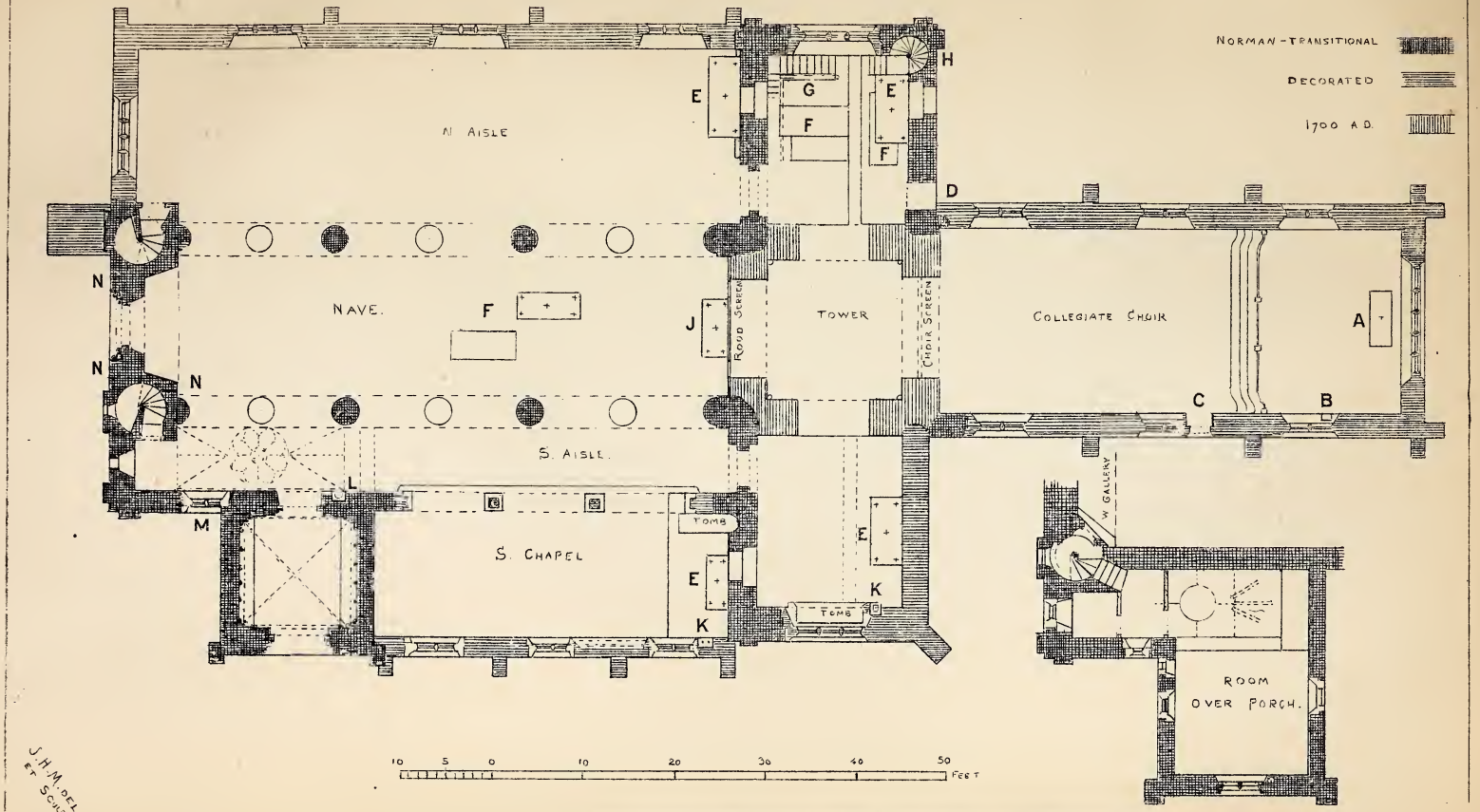


Fig. 9.

A late Decorated battlement has been added on the end of the South Aisle, and a modern doorway into the church has been broken through (*Plate* VII., M).

North Transept.—Passing round outside to the north, we see the original North Transept with its flat buttresses, tabling, and strings quite unaltered, except for the blocking up of two windows and a door and the insertion of a Decorated window in the end wall, doubtless in place of an earlier Norman one. High up on the east side can be seen the original window, blocked up. There is an exactly similar window in the opposite wall both of this Transept and the other.

In the corner close to the Chancel there is the original square-headed doorway; the semi-circular arch is merely incised on the


CHURCH OF S MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS.
BISHOP'S CLEEVE.
NORMAN-TRANSITIONAL
DECORATED
1700 A.D.
N. AISLE
NAVE.
S. AISLE.
S. CHAPEL
TOWER
ROOD SCREEN
CHOIR SCREEN
COLLEGIATE CHOIR
W. GALLERY
ROOM OVER PORCH.
TOMB
TOMB
A
B
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10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET
J.H.M. DEL ET SCULP

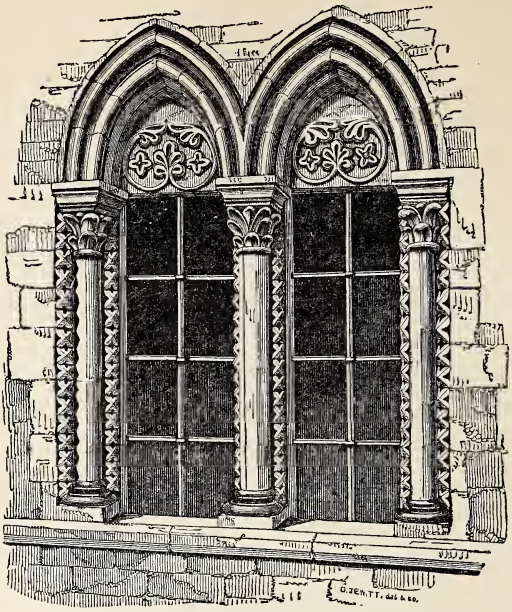


Fig. 10.

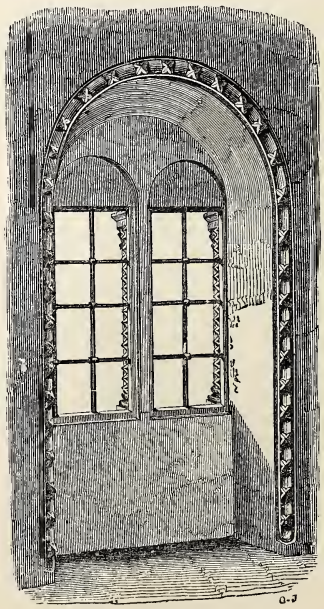


Fig. 11.

lintel stone (*Plate* VII., D). The rebuilding and slight widening of the Chancel to the north, in the 14th century, have encroached upon this doorway.

The unbroken string-course above, and the absence of any signs of a wall coming out from this side, seem to prove that, in spite of its unusual position, it was an external doorway into the church-yard, probably leading directly into the collegiate Burial Ground, as we shall see that it opens from the collegiate part of the church.

Passing round the outside of the Chancel there is nothing of the original work to be seen, it having not only been rebuilt but widened slightly to the North.

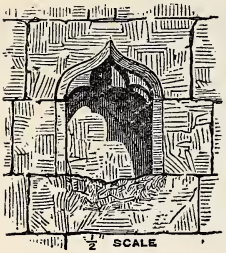
South Transept.—The eastern half of the South Transept has also been rebuilt, so that at the east angle we see a Decorated buttress, and in the end a Decorated window; but west of this window the original walls remain, as is shown by the Norman string-course and buttress at the west angle.

Porch.—Passing westwards, there is nothing original till we reach the South Porch, with its room over. Both the outer and inner doorways of this Porch are very elaborate. The doors themselves are modern, but on the outer one there are some 15th century iron hinges. The end upper window is a very remarkable one, having square-headed lights of a thoroughly domestic character. There is one of, almost, exactly similar design at Oakham Castle (See Arch. Jour. v. 136, and *figs.* 10 & 11)

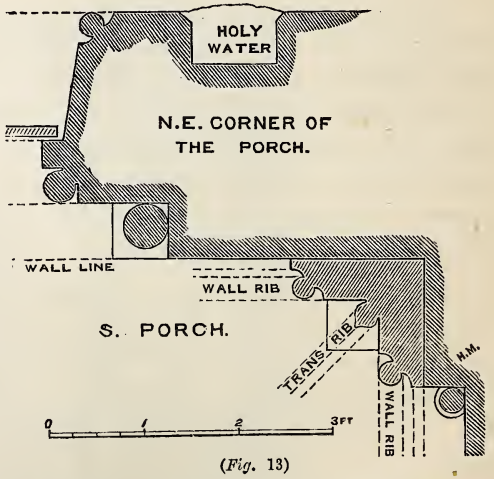
As we shall see, by examination inside, this Porch had originally a gable at its north end as well as here, and its roof did not run into that of the Nave as it now does. Inside the Porch is remarkably rich and graceful, and here the transition from the Norman to the Early-English, or First Pointed, style is very apparent. It is groined with a simple quadripartite vault, and the groin-ribs are richly adorned with chevron moulding. The wall arcading is also very beautiful, supported on slender shafts with interlacing arches. The bases of these shafts are hidden by the addition of a later stone bench.

As is always the case, where burials have been going on for centuries, the level of the surrounding ground has been much raised, so that the pavement of the Porch and of the Church itself is below the ground level outside. The stateliness and architectural importance of mediæval Porches arose from the fact that they were not mere vestibules, as they are at present, but places where important Ritual was performed.[1]

Inside.—South Aisle.—Entering from the Porch into the original South Aisle there is a Holy Water Stoup on the east side of the doorway (*Plate* VII., L.) The cusped arch of this seems to be a Decorated insertion, but there are remains of an older one behind (*see figs.* 12 and 13). A modern sort of Porch partly fills up the west end of this Aisle, probably put up when the small doorway was broken through. The original Norman window appears over this low vestibule. A late Perpendicular window has been inserted on the south. Most of the south wall of this Aisle was removed in the 14th century when the south chapel was built, and its place is partly occupied by the Decorated arcade opening into this chapel.



(*Fig.* 12)



(*Fig.* 13)

[1] In the Porch was conducted :—1st.—The first part of the Sacrament of Baptism, viz. : the Exorcising of the Child. 2nd.—The first part of the Marriage Service. 3rd.—The Churching of Women. 4th.—In Lent penitents assisted at Mass, kneeling in the Porch, not being admitted into the church itself.

At the east end of the South Aisle the raking weathering for the original Norman roof still remains over the archway into the Transept; and similar weathering existing on the north side shows that the original Norman North Aisle corresponded exactly to the South one. A bit of weathering also remains at the west end of the Chapel, showing the place where the eaves of the Aisle roof came against the Porch wall. The original external string-course can, also, be seen at this end running along the Porch in continuation of the same string-course which we see outside.

On the north side of the South Aisle, high up over the Nave arcade, the rest of the weathering of the Norman roof still remains, but it has been cut through at intervals to make room for corbels to carry the later Decorated roof, which now goes over both South Aisle and Chapel in one unbroken slope.

Stairs at the West end.—These stairs, which are the same as those on the north, did not originally give access to the room over the Porch, which, probably, was approached from an external staircase, of which there are indications outside in the angle on the west side. This is evident for several reasons—first, because the extension of this upper room over the South Aisle was not made till Perpendicular times, consequently the winding stairs did not originally come near the room. Secondly, because the upper part of the Porch had a gable at the north end rising above the Aisle roof. And thirdly, because the place where the steps to this room lead sideways out of the winding stairs is plainly a late addition, the winding steps continuing up without any landing or break. The real use of these stairs was to lead to a narrow western gallery inside the Nave. The doorways to this gallery from the stairs on both sides still remain, though blocked up, and the offset where the gallery beams rested can be seen high above the present Jacobean Gallery, at about the level of the springing of the west window arch. There are many old instances of this western gallery, the use of which was for the boys who sang the "Gloria, laus et honor," at the Procession on Palm Sunday: there are early examples of this Gallery at Kirkstall, at St. Alban's Abbey; and later ones at Heckington,

Lincolnshire, and Harlstone, Northants. At Westminster Abbey there is a projecting wooden Gallery, of Perpendicular date, possibly for the same purpose, on the south side near the west end.[1] These stairs, in some cases, had a further use in leading out on to the roof. The doorway for this on the north side here still exists. The part of the stairs that comes above the gallery offset is considerably narrower than the lower part.

Nave.—From the very wide spacing of the columns of the Nave Arcade, and from the ungraceful eliptical shape of the arches, it would appear that these arches are not original, but that formerly there were double the number, and that every alternate pier has been removed, and these flat wide arches inserted at some late period, probably at the beginning of the 16th century. The position of these supposed piers is shewn in outline on the Plan (*Pl.* VII.) The existence of the Norman Corbel-table, now visible inside the Porch-room, and the weathering to the Norman South Aisle roof show that the upper part of the arcade wall is original, so that the insertion of these arches must have been a work of great difficulty and risk, but it is quite a possible work, while I do not think that we can reasonably suppose these wide unshapely arches to be Norman, and, moreover, the section of the arches, namely, two orders of plain chamfers, could hardly be Norman or Transitional in date, though it might belong to any other period.

Dedication Cross.—On S.W. the respond of the Nave Arcade there is a fine deeply cut Dedication Cross of the usual shape (*see fig.* 14).

(Fig. 14).

At the East end of the Nave, over the responds of the arcade, there are marks of the original high Rood Screen and Loft. The west window is a Decorated insertion.

Plan.—And here I may digress for a moment to speak of the original internal arrangements of the church.

It would seem that this church originally consisted of two separate parts. One part—that west of the Rood Screen, comprising the Nave and its Aisles, being the parish church for the

[1] See J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., "Parish Churches in 1548," p. 8.

use of the people. The other part—that to the east of the Rood Screen, comprising Tower, Transepts, and Choir, being a Collegiate Church for the use of the annexed foundation.

The principal Altar for the people then stood in the middle of the East end of the Nave against the Rood-screen (*Plate* VII. J.) This Altar was called the Jesus Altar, or Altar of the Holy Cross, from the Crucifix which was immediately over it. On each side of the Altar there would be a door for Processions to pass through. This arrangement was a very common one, it existed at Tewkesbury, Bolton, Finchale, and Malmesbury Abbeys; at Durham, Canterbury, and Rochester Cathedrals; at Christ Church, Hants; and many other places; and still exists at St. Alban's Abbey; at Boxgrove Church, in Sussex; and at Wyndham Church, Norfolk.

It may be worth while to quote here the description of a similar arrangement of Rood Screen and Jesus Altar, formerly existing in the Nave of Durham Cathedral.[1]

The elaborate Norman archway at the end of each of the Aisles formed the chief entrances into the Collegiate part of the church, and were, of course, closed by screens. Against the east

[1] "Mon. and Rites of Durham," p. 28.—*Surtees Society.*

"In the body of the churche . . . over against the Quere dore, ther was an Altar called Jesus Altar, where Jhesus mess was song every fridaie thorowe-out the whole yere. And at the back-syde of the said Altar there was a fair high stone wall, at either end of the wall there was a dore, which was lockt every night, called the two Roode dores, for the Procession to goe furth and comme in at.

And at either end of the Alter was closed up with fyne wainscott, like unto a Porch adjoyninge to eyther Roode dore, verie fynely vernished, with fyne read vernish: and in the wainscott, at the South end of the Alter, ther was iiij. faire Almeries, for to locke the Chalices and Sylver Crewetts, with two or thre sewts of Vestments, and other ornaments, belonginge to the said Alter for the holie daies and principall daies. . .

And also above the hight of all, upon the waule did stand the most goodly and famous Roode that was in all this land, with the picture (*i.e.* Statue) of Marie on one syde, and the picture of John on the other, with two splendent and glisteringe Archangels, one on the one syde of Mary, and the other of the other syde of Johne. So, what for the fairness of the wall, the staitlynes of the pictures, and the lyvehoode of the paynting, it was thowght to be one of the goodliest Monuments in that Church."

side of each of the Transepts there was an Altar. There would, also, be another Screen across the Eastern Arch of the Tower to shut off the Collegiate Choir and Sanctuary.

The Collegiate High Altar was certainly at the extreme East end of the church, and there was, probably, a loft on the Screen, which in the 15th century had an organ in it.

Tower.—To proceed with the rest of the plan of the original church we pass on to the Tower. The original Norman Tower, with its, probably, later spire, fell down in the year 1696, and the present one was built in 1700, at a cost of £770. The upper part is debased Perpendicular in style, but the four arches on which it stands are a sort of spurious Norman, done partly in stucco, probably a rude copy of what was there before.

North Transept.—This Transept is but little altered further than that a Decorated window has been inserted in the north end, and the Norman side windows and door have been blocked up. The west window must have been blocked up in the 14th century, when the Norman North Aisle was destroyed to make room for the present wide aisle; and the doorway was built up, about the same time, when the chancel was re-built and widened on the north side, thus encroaching upon this doorway. The east window seems to have been blocked up without any reason at all.

In the N.E. angle of this Transept there is a curious winding staircase, the date of which it is impossible to decide upon: the form of the door arches seems Perpendicular, but this may be an alteration, and I think it scarcely likely that the hollow for the stairs themselves was excavated out of an old wall instead of being built up with the wall itself. This stair led to a gallery, and there are notches for its joists cut out of the Norman string. That it was only a gallery and not a floor entirely across, is shown by the absence of notches in the string opposite. It was quite narrow, and probably led through the Tower wall to the loft or music gallery over the Chancel Screen. The rebuilding of the Tower in 1700 has, of course, destroyed all actual proof of its purpose. The details of the other staircase are late Perpendicular, the first

flight is of stone, the rest of solid oak logs with pannelling on the side. It is partly supported by an enormous stone corbel let into the wall.

Altars.—On the east wall of the N. Transept there are distinct marks of the original stone altar, and a few feet above there are similar marks showing the place where there has been a stone cornice over the Retable, in the same fashion as the one still existing at the end of the North Aisle. The original Altar Steps still remain and, let into the pavement, there are three large slabs of stone, all, doubtless, old altar slabs. The broken one has traces of the central Dedication Cross. Another fits exactly the mark against the wall, and is, unquestionably, the slab that formerly stood there. This Altar seems to have been 3′ 9″ high, which is higher than altars usually were. There is, however, still existing at Jervaulx Abbey, an original side altar of the same height as this, which has the old foot-pace, showing that there is not a step missing. Besides these three, there are two other Altar-slabs let into the pavement of the middle alley of the Nave. One of these has four of the five Consecration Crosses still remaining: they have both been made into grave-stones,[1] a long cross has been cut on each, and an inscription round the edge, with the date—on one 1568, on the other 1577 (*Pl.* VII., F.FF.) On both there are the words—

"Of whose soul God have mercy."

If not from the earliest times, at least from the 6th century it was the universal rule that all Christian Altars should be of stone.

In the year 517, during the Pontificate of Pope Hormisdas, the Council of Epaune decreed, by their 26th canon, that no altar except a stone one should be consecrated with Holy Chrism. This decree was repeated in England by Egberht, Archbishop of York, about 750 A.D., but the injunction seems to have been sometimes disobeyed in England. In 1076, however, the Council of Winchester, under Lanfranc and the Papal Legates, ordered all Altars to be of stone.

[1] It was a common practice, especially during the 16th century, to convert the ancient altar-slabs into grave-stone, doubtless from feelings of reverence and to preserve the stones from greater indignity.—Ed.

William of Malmesbury, in his life of St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester (who was contemporary with Lanfranc), says: "At that time there had been wooden altars even from ancient times in England. These he demolished throughout his diocese, and set up others of stone."[1]

Martene, in his "Voyage de deux Benedictins," p. 15, speaks of a similar state of things to that now existing in Cleeve Church, which he saw in the Abbey Church of Charroux—a church consecrated by Pope Urban II. at the end of the 11th century. "The stupidity of some Prior of the Church had caused the High Altar to be pulled down, and let into the pavement," so that, as he says, "People now walk on this Holy Table, on which the Sovereign Pontiff has immolated the victim that gives life to men."

It was the rule for all old Altars, that were not set above or against a saint's tomb, to contain a relic, which was sealed up in a small cavity in the altar, called the sepulchre. The five crosses on the slab marked the places where the Bishop, at the consecration, had annointed it with chrism, and burned five little heaps of incense. At Forthampton Church, near Tewkesbury, the original stone Altar, supported on two pillars of stone, is still in its place; at Abbey Dore, also, the original stone High Altar is still standing, but refixed.

The destruction of Stone Altars in England began in 1550, the fourth year of Edward VI., chiefly caused by a quite illegal order of Ridley, who was acting as Bishop of London. It is to be observed that the Rubric of the present Prayer-book refers us to the *second* year of Edward VI., a time when all Altars were required to be of stone.

A very valuable MS. preserved among the archives of Lincoln Cathedral, and published by Mr. Peacock, F.S.A., in his "Church Furniture," 1866, gives the returns, from the churchwardens of about 150 Lincolnshire Churches, of the Church-goods in their respective churches that had been sold or destroyed. Among these are numberless entries recording a similar treatment of

[1] See Vita S. Wulstan, ii., c. 14, and Pamphlet on Christian Altars, published by the Camb. Camd. Soc. in 1847.

altar slabs to what we find in this church, both their being used for paving, and also their being converted into gravestones:—

Page 37. Bardney Church. Item 2 Alter stones laid down in the church unbroken."

Page 53. "Braughton Church. Item 1 Alter stone laid on a grave, which so remaynith unbroken."

Page 109. "Ireham Church. Item one Alter stone paved in the church upon the grave of the late wief of Johnne Thymelbie, Esquire."

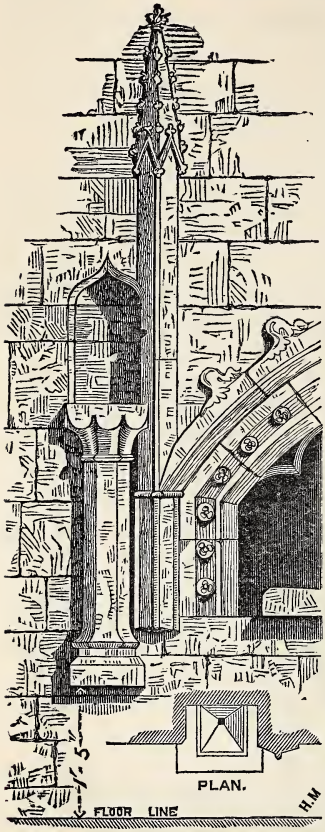
Page 121. "Ownedbie Church. Item one Altar stone sold to Willm. Thixton, and he caused it to be laide on his grave when he departed."

In spite of all this destruction, many of the original stone Altars remained in use till the general desecration of churches by the Puritan faction. But such new ones as the Puritans erected seem to have been usually of wood, as were nearly all those set up in the churches on their being restored to sacred uses between 1660 and 1662. From that date till within the last 40 years, Altars were in most cases of marble (Cleeve Church has an example of a marble Altar Slab put up in 1794) or with marble tops, supported on iron work. In recent times wood has been more common, though now the fashion is rapidly changing in favour of stone.

South Transept.— The whole of the west side and half the south end of this Transept are original. The Norman strings inside and out only run round this part of the walls. The rest has been rebuilt in the 14th century, when a Decorated three-light window was inserted in the end wall. The Norman window on the south still remains, though blocked up; this is similar to the corresponding one in the North Transept.

The Norman Piscina, which is a curious one, of pillar form, all cut out of one piece of stone, has been reset in the wall at the rebuilding, and a Decorated recess contrived over it. The base of this is now 1′ 5″ above the pavement, owing to the removal of the Altar steps (see *fig.* 14.)

The Piscina encroaches upon the wall tomb by its side, and a groove cut in the west side of the recess shows the place where a wooden shelf for the Altar cruets was slipped in. The tomb is a low arched recess of early 14th century work, richly adorned with cusped tracery, pinacles, &c., and ball flower enrichments. The effigy is a colossal recumbent figure of a knight, called by popular tradition "Gilbert the Bold;" his armour is of the time of Edward II. The figure is carved in soft stone, and has been painted all over; many of the details of the armour, such as the mail rings, omitted by the sculptor, have been supplied by the painter. The armorial bearings on the shield also were painted, but are now undecipherable. The Coiffe de Mailles, the hauberk, and the chausses, are of chain mail. Under the hauberk at the knee, the cleft border of the gambeson appears. The surcoat or cyclas has short cleft sleeves, it is very long, but is cut shorter in front, for convenience on horseback. The shield is triangular. The knight is ready to draw his sword, the right hand on the hilt, and the left on the scabbard. The legs are crossed, and the feet rest against a lion couchant (see Plate v., and Mr. Hartshorne's observations on this Effigy, ante p. 242).



(Fig. 14).

The Norman Archway, opening into the parochial part of the church is similar to the one on the North.

This completes the examination of the original Transitional work still remaining.

South Chapel.—In the beginning of the 14th century, probably about 1310, a Chapel was added on the south side. This was constructed by enclosing the space between the South Transept and the Porch with a wall, and building an arcade of three arches in place of part of the Norman South Aisle wall. This arcade has octagonal shafts, the caps scantily enriched with ball flowers. There is also in the south wall a Decorated wall-tomb, which was probably the tomb of the founder of this chapel.

Near the east end there is a Piscina, with two basins; this is an additional proof that this chapel was built quite early in the 14th century. For some reason, unknown, during the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries, English priests (and to a certain extent those on the continent also) seem to have had some objection to swallowing the rincings of the chalice at Mass, and during this period double Piscinæ, one basin for the rincings of the chalice, and another for the rincings of the priest's hands, were very commonly provided. Both before and after this period, of little more than a hundred years, the rubric directing the celebrant to swallow the chalice rincings was universally obeyed, and double Piscinæ were not provided.

Altar.—All signs of the Altar and its fittings are concealed by a very magnificent marble and alabaster tomb, of the date stated, of Richard Delabere, of Southam, and his wife. The recumbent figures are finely sculptured; the iron grille round the tomb is cotemporary with it. Unfortunately, a part of the marble, the shafts, &c., have been disfigured with paint.

It is stated[1] that there were Chantry Altars in this church, dedicated respectively to the B. V. Mary, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, and All Saints, but we have no evidence as to how they were dis-

[1] Atkyn's Glo'stershire Edn., 1712, p. 335. Rudder's Glo'stershire Edn., 1779, p. 372.

Note.—There is no record in the Certificates of dissolved Chantries, 2nd Edw. VI., of there being any Chantries in this Church. The only endowments which appear are the following:

89 *Bishop's Cleeve.*

Landes given to the ffindings of a light there. The yerelie value thereof - - - - - - - iijs. jd.
the whole

tributed. These four, together with the Jesus Altar in the nave, and the High Altar in the choir, make up the full number which the church seems to have held.

In the north-east corner of the chapel there is a fine recumbent Effigy of a lady, apparently of the latter part of the 14th century. The head is covered by a voluminous hood, there is a wimple, or gorget, under her chin; the hands are folded; on each side of the pillow there is an angel.[1]

There have been three late Perpendicular windows inserted in the south wall, two of them square-headed.

The battlements that crown the wall outside have been carried along the west end of the original Norman Aisle.

A fragment of stained glass, the head of a Saint, remains in the westernmost of these windows: the fragment is, apparently, earlier than the window itself.

Roof.—The timbers of the old roof, with moulded tie-beams and wall-plates, still remain, though a good deal patched and altered. It was, probably, reconstructed in the 16th century, when windows were inserted, and plastering has been added still later.

North Aisle.—Towards the middle of the 14th century the original Norman North Aisle was taken down, and a wide Aisle built in its place. Some fragments of the Norman cornice are built into this later north wall. The windows and heavy battlements all round are cotemporary with the Aisle itself, though at first sight the battlements have a Perpendicular look.

At St. Andrew's, Helpringham, the Aisles have heavy battlements very similar to these, and in that case were built before the year 1350. The roof may be original, it is very rude in

Distributed to the poore ever sithens ye taking down of lightes - - - - - - - iijs. jd.

Memorand. that in the seide parishe there was certeyne other landes gevyne to the maynteynynge of a lighte before the sacram^t^ of th'alter there of the yerelie value of vjs. vjd., wch was w^t^in five yeres paste converted and bestowed to that use accordinglie, and at this present the same lande is holden and claymed by the heires of John Huddelstone Knyghte decessede by what title the parishenors can not saye, &c.—ED.

[1] See Mr. Hartshorne's remarks (ante p 244)

execution; both this, and the South Aisle roof are covered with lead; some of the flashing round is remarkably thick, being heavier than any now used. At the east end of this Aisle there is a Decorated cornice, about 6ft. from the ground, moulded and ornamented with little battlements and sunk quartrefoils. This was immediately over the altar that stood here, and formed a top for the moveable retable fitted behind it. The length of this retable, which was 8' 9" long, is shown by the part of the cornice cut away to receive it.[1] In the cornice there are some small circular holes, which probably served to carry a curtain-rod to veil the Retable with its cross and figures in Lent.[2] There are marks of a similar cornice over the altar in the North Transept. At the north-east corner of this Aisle the line of the angle buttress of the Norman Transept can be seen inside, with its original external plinth.

Under the north-west window, and at some other places, there are remains of old painting on the plaster, but nearly all is hidden by whitewash.

In the middle window are some fragments of old glass—King David with his harp and the figure of a Queen.

In the pavement of the alley there is a fine, though much worn, tomb-stone, which has been incised with a cross, and has an inscription in fine 14th century characters, the first words of which are—

"IOHANNES LAVREWYGE."

Chancel.—This is the Choir and Presbytery of the Collegiate part of the church. It has been entirely re-built in the 14th century. The south wall is on the line of the original Norman wall, but the Chancel has been widened nearly 2ft. to the north, thus throwing its axis out of the centre of the Nave and encroaching upon the Norman door in the North Transept. There is a Priest's door on the south side, so it would seem as if the collegiate burial ground, on the north of the church in the 12th century, had been extended to the south in the 14th century.

[1] There is a very interesting description of a moveable Retable of this sort in the "Rites and Mon. of Durham," p. 28.

[2] This veil was called "Velum Quadragesimale."

In the sill of the south window, near the Altar, there is an aumbry, the upper half of which is destroyed. It, possibly, had a sort of a lid or canopied top rising above the sill.

The east window and some others have lost their tracery, and its place has been supplied in a most extraordinary manner by the talent of some local stone-mason. The stumps of the mullions of the East window still remain, and also the external arch, which is decorated with ball flowers and pellets in two orders. The external eaves cornice is also enriched with balls.

Of the old High Altar no signs remain. The present Altar Slab is a fine piece of marble: it was given by Richard Cook in in 1794. His initials and the date are painted on the underside.

Rudder, in his History of Gloucestershire, mentions a monumental brass of the year 1375 in the Chancel, but it is no longer to be found there. The Altar Rails are of the last century, they are very handsome, with turned ballusters and richly moulded rails. The steps are modern and not conveniently arranged.

Porch-room.—The next alterations that took place in the church seem to have been the addition of the stairs to the Belfry in the North Transept, and the extension of the Porch-room over the South Aisle; both of which works were, probably, executed at the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.

The alteration to the upper room was accomplished by taking down the north gable of this room and carrying the roof on to join the Nave roof. The floor of the room was then extended into the upper part of the aisle, and supported on flat four-centred arches with rudimentary fan groining between. The joints of this groining show through in the floor of the room itself. This flooring was carried westward to the end of the Aisle, thus forming a second little room and lobby, screened off by a wooden partition. This extension made it possible to get access to this upper floor by breaking an opening into the winding stairs and introducing some side steps in the thickness of the stair wall. The original access being, without doubt, by an external staircase in the N.W. angle of the Porch, now removed. Square-headed windows were

then introduced to light the new small room and the lobby, and three additional ones were inserted in the walls of the chief room. Along the north wall of this room inside, the original Norman Corbel-table is still existing, and a few inches below it the weathering of the Norman Aisle roof, which is thus shown to have run on behind the north gable of the Porch-room, instead of the Porch roof running on to the Nave roof as it now does. From the east window of this room there is a good view of the fine corbel-table along the South Transept, with its eaves-gutter cut out of solid stone. The end window of the room is the original one, it was rebated inside for a wooden shutter, the present splayed jambs are modern. The fireplace and flue are also modern.

There is a fine Oak Chest cut out of a solid log of oak and strongly bound with iron.

All these additions and alterations to the Porch-room were probably made to provide living and sleeping accommodation for some priest, or other clerk, for whom it was desirable that a residence in the church itself should be provided. This may have been a priest who was attached to this church, to whom would fall the duty of guarding the church at night.

In the parish accounts of St. Peter's church at Oxford, there was a charge in the year 1481 for "Key to the Clerk's chamber." This was probably the Porch-room.

Among other uses to which Porch-rooms were put, they were employed as Treasury or Muniment rooms, and as chapels—*e.g.* at Saul Church, Norfolk. Many have piscinæ and other signs of having had Altars in them. Also as the dwelling of an Anker or Recluse, and it was then called the Domus Inclusi, or Ankerhold.[1]

[1] In many cases, no doubt, the Anker was a Chantry Priest. It is recorded that "an Ankeret (or Anker) lived in St. Cuthbert's Church, Thetford, and performed Divine Service there."—*See Blomfield's Norfolk*, II., 75.

In Durham Cathedral, "at the East end of the North alley of the quire . . . was the goodliest fair Porch called the Anchoridge, having in it a marveillous fair Rood . . . with an Altar for a monk to say daily mass, being in ancient times inhabited with an Anchorite."—Mon. and Rites, p. 15. (see Rock Ch. of Our Fathers, III., 114, and "The Ancren Riwle," translated from a 13th Century MS., by J. Morton, Camd. Soc., 1853.)

Pews.—At the west end of the Nave, there are some fine 16th century oak pews, though probably not in their original position, as it was not customary to have any pews west of the side entrance. The width of the passage between them is 7″ 9″, a width which would now be considered very liberal, but in mediæval times the passage was seldom much under 8 feet. The word Pew, or Pue, is often now thought to imply high shut in seats like those in the body of this church, but it really is the mediæval word for low open seats.[1]

Near the South door there is a fragment of Perpendicular oak pannelling, which probably was part of a Screen or of the Stalls.

Jacobean Gallery.—At the West end there is a richly-carved Oak Gallery, dating from about the beginning of the 17th century: a very good specimen of the style. It stands on massive oak

In the Durham Rites, &c., p. 19, we find an instance mentioned of two men sleeping in the Cathedral as caretakers.

At Churchdown, near here, there is a very curious example of a three-storied Porch, where the Priest seems to have had a bedroom over his siting-room.

[1] The word occurs in the Vision of Piers Plougman, latter part of the 4th century. Envy is "yparroked in puwes among wyves and wodewes" (Text c., vii., 144).

William Bruges, by his will of February, 1449, leaves money to the "Church of St. George within Staunford, "For covering it with lede, glassing, and making of plain desques, and of a plain Rode-lofte & in *puying* of the said church, nowt curiously, but plainly, &c."

Also John Young of Herne, by his Will of May 26th, 1458, left "to the fabric of the Church of Herne, viz.: to make seats called puyinge, x marks."

Another name used was "Stoles," or "Stools," in 1502, money was left for "Stoyling" the Church of Swaffham, in Norfolk, particularly for making "all the gret *Stolys* of both sydes of the Mid Alleye."

One of the earliest mentions of Pews is given in Wilkins' Concilia, 12th chapter of a Synod at Exeter, held by Bishop Quivil in 1287.

"We have also heard that the Parishioners do oftentimes wrangle about their seats in church, two or more claiming the same seat, whence arises great scandal to the church, and the Divine Offices are sore let and hindered; wherefore we decree that none shall henceforth call any seat in the church his own, save Nobles and Patrons, but he who shall first enter shall take his place where he will." The Latin word for Pewes in the middle ages was *Sedilia*, the present restricted use of that word being quite modern.

columns with turned mouldings, the front of the main beam is richly carved and moulded. The newels and ballusters of the front and stairs are very good.

The present condition of the church generally is one of neglect, and much that is interesting is no doubt hidden by whitewash, but the antiquary will be thankful that as yet the church has been spared that sweeping and destructive so-called "Restoration" which has robbed so many of our old churches of their chief interest and charm.

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

MEMORIALS OF THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN KING CHARLES I. AND THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, as it affected Herefordshire and the adjacent counties. By the late REV. JOHN WEBB, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., Rector of Tretire, Herefordshire. Edited and completed by the REV. T. W. WEBB., M.A., F.R.A.S., Vicar of Hardwick, Herefordshire. With an Appendix of Documents. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1879.

THIS is a work of considerable local interest and importance, written by a gentleman well known, during a life prolonged far beyond the ordinary tenure, for his varied learning and attainments, and for his habit of careful and painstaking research, accuracy, and candour. His contributions to the Society of Antiquaries, and to other learned Societies, were numerous and valuable. His first Paper to the Society named was read as long ago as 1819. In 1829 he read before the same Society an "Essay on the Abbey of Gloucester, illustrative of the Customs, Rites, Privileges, and Manners of the Monks of that House." This Paper, from some accident unknown, has not been printed by the Society, and, so far as we are aware, has never appeared in print; and the matter in the opening pages of the work before us was read before the same Society as early as March, 1836. In 1866 he undertook to edit for the Camden Society a work bearing upon the same subject as the volumes under notice: viz., the "Military Memoirs of Colonel Birch," sometime the Parliamentary Governor of Hereford, but, unhappily, the editor was removed from his labours by his protracted, but still too early, death in 1869, at the age of 93 years. The same event interrupted the completion of these memorials, which are based upon studies and investigations commenced more than half a century ago, and unremittingly continued during the author's life. The author's unfinished task, like the Memoirs of Colonel Birch, was lovingly taken up and ably concluded by his son.

These few particulars relative to the venerable and venerated author will, we trust, be not unacceptable.

The studies which led to the publication of this work would seem to have left a deep impression upon the author's mind of the danger of forgetfulness of the awful calamities which inevitably attend a revolution, and a state of civil war. His life had extended over a period marked by an eventful and stormy succession of political changes in many nations, in which he had observed how eager are the people to rush into revolutions, and how comparatively trivial are sometimes the immediate causes which

are sufficient to kindle the flame. "Materials," he says, "can never be wanting where such numbers are interested in the hope of gain, or attracted by some novelty. Even among those who are better instructed some temporary pressure, some imaginary good, or anticipated evil, is enough to lead too many to think and speak of that dire extremity, a civil war, as if it were rather to be desired than abhorred; they look upon it, not upon the whole unfavourably, merely as a last remedy, without considering that it may be, in its progress and effects, far more cruel and bitter than the disease, not reflecting how frequently it has happened when men have smarted under such a scourge they are ready to bow their necks to any yoke." He thinks it desirable to bring home to men's business and bosoms by the publication of separate county histories "of the last civil war, the dire calamities which their forefathers had suffered, shewing where their houses were rifled and ruined, and their fields stained with the sword, how they were doomed to captivity, or driven from their homes not knowing where to lay their heads." With these salutary words of wisdom we will proceed to refer briefly to the work, observing that it is written in such a calm, judicial, and impartial spirit that sometimes it is difficult to determine to which side in the struggle the writer's own predilections leaned.

The work opens with a description of the county of Hereford in the beginning of the 17th century which possesses no small interest, for we may fairly conclude that the adjacent counties, in many parts, at least, were not very widely different. The boast of the inhabitants was that they had, in eminent perfection and abundance, water, wood, women, wool, and wheat. The county was purely pastoral. The people were simple in their habits, and disliked change. When the city of Hereford attempted to obtain an Act of Parliament for opening the navigation of the Wye, the inhabitants and landholders adjoining the river objected to the introduction of luxuries as useless and injurious, and had better be spared than had. The district was greatly isolated. Until the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Wilton Bridge was built, though there were many fords, two bridges only spanned the Wye between Hay and Chepstow: viz., Hereford and Monmouth. The roads scarcely deserved the name. They were simply the old British track-ways, and, in many places, so deep that a troop of horses might pass between the steep banks, almost from one side of the county to the other, without being seen; and the people were as conservative in their feelings, and as primitive in their habits, as the district which they inhabited.

When the troubles commenced the general feeling in Herefordshire was almost entirely in favour of the King, though when the Parliamentarians made their appearance in the district some gentlemen joined them, and many of the smaller gentry and yeomanry shewed a disposition the same way. Many of all ranks, however, exercised a considerable reserve, in the hope that matters might, in some way, be adjusted without the necessity of their declaring themselves; but the Parliamentarians would not allow of any neutrality. They looked upon those that were not for them as being against them, and the fact of "remaining quietly at home was no security against invasion of property, requisitions and sequestrations, difficulties and distress." The most eminent of the Royalists

promptly declared themselves, among whom was Lord Scudamore, a Roman Catholic, of which religion were many ancient families in the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, and Gloucester, and no class was more devoted in loyalty to the King. They deemed no sacrifice too great for his service. Herefordshire and Monmouthshire were markedly loyal; but Gloucestershire, especially in the clothing districts, adhered to the Parliament.

On 12th July, 1642, the parliament voted that an army should be raised, of which the Earl of Essex was made General, and the Earl of Bedford General of the Horse. Parliament had previously seized the military magazines and the fleet. The King issued a proclamation, denouncing these acts as rebellion, and took measures, himself, for raising an army of defence, of which he appointed the Marquis of Hertford General-in-Chief. On 22nd Aug., 1642, the King unfurled the Royal Standard, at Nottingham, and the bloody strife began. It is not our purpose, nor would space permit us, to enter into the details of this unhappy internecine war. The sufferings and distress endured by all classes are graphically told, and the stories of the marches and counter-marches, the battles and seiges, are related, generally, with spirit and effect. In no part of England was there, perhaps, greater activity exhibited, nor more military spirit, skill, and courage manifested, than in these western counties.

The general course of events in this unhappy war is well known, but not so many interesting particulars of a special character, which Mr. Webb has collected from private sources and scarce contemporary pamphlets, of great value to the local historian. Much of his work may, therefore, be regarded as original. His narrative centres much around Hereford, and the extent to which that city and the surrounding district was implicated in, and suffered from, the eventful struggle, has not hitherto been sufficiently realised. Adopting Mr. Webb's words, used elsewhere, the city was "twice entered and occupied with little or no resistance, in the early part of the war, once gallantly and successfully defended, once captured by strategem against a bold struggle, it changed hands four times in the course of the contest, till at last it was permanently occupied by the parliamentarians, under Birch and Morgan. Of the five governors who held it for the king two were taken prisoners, two slain sword in hand, and the last, after opposing with great applause the attempt of the Scots to gain possession of the city by a regular seige, was surprised in his bed by the entrance of the enemy, on a winter's morning, and escaped, with disgrace and difficulty, across the moat."

One of the most brave and successful of the Parliamentary commanders was Lieut-Col. Massey, whom the Earl of Stamford, when he evacuated Hereford in the beginning of the war and proceeded into Cornwall, left as Governor of Gloucester. Brave, active, and vigilant, he became the terror of his enemies and the admiration of his friends. The only royalist officer who seemed to be a match for him was Col. Mynne, who was slain in an encounter with Massey's forces at Red Marley in 1644. Sir John Wintour of Lydney attempted to cope with him, but was signally unsuccessful. He

found himself shut up in the Forest of Dean, and after fighting several battles was glad to escape, in great haste, after setting fire to his house, the home of his ancestors, with his own hands, and leaving his cannon behind him.

There were many instances during the troubles of the heroism of ladies, especially on the royalist side, in defending their husbands' houses in their absence in the field. We may mention the Countess of Derby's defence of Latham House, and, among others, Lady Wintour's defence of Lydney against the summons of Massey; but there were not wanting instances of similar devotion and courage on the other side. In the very outset of the war Mrs. Purefoy, with her son-in-law, one Abbot, her one or two daughters, three men and three women servants, refused the summons of Prince Rupert and resolved to defend Caldicott House against him and a force of 500 men. Having, however, expended all their ammunition she threw open the gate, and, rushing out, cast herself at the feet of the Prince and supplicated quarter. The Prince having demanded the extent of her prayer, and hearing that there were only 15 persons who had offered so gallant a resistance, notwithstanding that he had lost many of his men, he raised the lady from the ground, kindly saluted her and granted her request. The case, however, to which we desire specially to advert is that of Brampton Bryan Castle in Herefordshire, the seat of Sir Robert Harley, the chiefest of the Parliamentary leaders in the county and Knight for the Shire. He was a man of considerable ability, readiness, and tact, so that his presence was constantly required in London. He therefore left his house in charge of his wife Lady Brilliana. She was the daughter of Edward Viscount Conway, sometime Governor of Brill, where she was born and from which she derived her name. She would seem to have been treated throughout with much forbearance by the Royalist commanders in Herefordshire, even when the whole county, except Brampton Bryan, was completely in their power. It is true she had been several times summoned to surrender, but upon her refusal no attempt was made to reduce the place. At length, in 1643, it was considered that the continuance of this Parliamentarian stronghold in their midst was a cause of reproach and could no longer be suffered to exist. Probably this resolution was taken in consequence of the conduct of Sir Robert Harley himself, who, at this time, as Chief Commissioner for carrying into execution the votes of Parliament "against all remains of superstition and idolatry" was conspicuous in the destruction of churches, &c., under which the painted glass in Westminster Abbey, the Preaching Cross at Cheapside, and many other objects of devotion, art, and refinement, were ruthlessly destroyed. Accordingly in July, Sir William Vavasor, then commanding the Royal forces in Herefordshire, summoned Lady Brilliana to surrender the castle, but she steadily refused, and the place was invested. They lay seven weeks before the walls of the castle, and exhausted all their resources of force and art in endeavouring to reduce it, but they were met by corresponding address and vigour. Eventually, however, the besiegers were withdrawn to re-inforce the king's army engaged in the more important siege of Gloucester. But the fatigue, excitement, and anxiety were too much for Lady Harley. In her last letter, dated 9th October, she complains of a renewal of Vavasor's threatenings, and says she is "ill of a very greate

coold," of which she died a few days afterwards. A new attempt upon Brampton Bryan, made in the following year, was more successful. It was taken and, sad to say, from the passions which had been aroused, it was burnt to the ground with all it contained, including a noble library rich in MSS.

INQUISITIO COMITATUS CANTABRIGIENSIS, nunc primum e Manuscripto unico in Bibliotheca Cottoniana asservato typis mandata; subjicitur *Inquisitio Eliensis*. Cura N. E. S. A. HAMILTON. Londini: Impensis Regiæ Societatis Litterariæ. apud Io. Murray, 1876.

In the work before us, through the liberality of the "Royal Society of Literature," we possess a very important addition to our knowledge of that stupendous work, the Domesday Survey. This publication contains the original returns of the *Juratores* for the county of Cambridge, now first printed under the able editorship of Mr. Nicholas Hamilton. The valuable and unique Record here mentioned is preserved in the British Museum (Cott. Tiberius A. VI.), and though previously known to a few antiquaries, was first brought prominently under notice by Mr. Hamilton some years ago, when he was officially connected with the Museum. It is quite complete except that two or three leaves are missing at the end.

It is a very extraordinary circumstance, that, though cited by Seldon, Gale, and some other writers on Domesday, the great historical value of this record should not have been recognised. It is still more remarkable that though the Inquisitio Eliensis, which is printed by the Record Commissioners in the Great Book on Domesday, edited by the late Sir Henry Ellis, is bound in the same volume, this more valuable document should have been overlooked—that the Inquisitio Eliensis, which relates merely to the lands held by the Monastery of Ely, should have been selected for publication whilst the more important portion, which contains a description of the lay as well as of the ecclesiastical fees, should have been altogether omitted.

There can be no doubt that the Record now brought to light, which is in the handwriting of the period (*fac-similes* of which are given) contains the original Returns for Cambridgshire, from which the Exchequer Domesday was compiled. Like the Exeter Domesday, which was printed by the Record Commissioners, it contains all the particulars upon which the jurors were commanded to enquire, whilst the Exchequer Book is merely an abridgment. Mr. Hamilton prints this Record and the Exchequer in parallel columns, so that the difference between them may be seen at a glance, whilst an examination of the text will disclose many particulars of considerable interest, with respect to which the Exchequer Domesday is silent, and will clear up many points upon which that record is obscure.

To make the work more complete is added a reprint of the Inquisitio Eliensis, which the editor has very carefully collated with two MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, noting at the foot the various readings; and he has also printed several documents from the Ancient Chartularies of Ely, "which refer to the method employed in obtaining the Survey, and which cannot fail to strike the reader as being of a very remarkable nature."

We have only to add that the Indices appended to the volume are very full. They are arranged under three heads—Names of Persons; Names of Places; and a selection of subjects which the editor considers "likely to interest the reader and to be most useful in researches of a Miscellaneous Character.

LOCH ETIVE AND THE SONS OF UISNACH, with illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co., 1879.

During the last few years increased attention has been given to the study of Celtic History and Antiquities, and we are glad to know that the interest therein is continually advancing. We have yet much to learn upon the subject. Notwithstanding the labours of Dr. Williams and Mr. Skele in Scotland, that country is still very imperfectly explored.

The work before us treats of Loch Etive and its neighbourhood. This loch lies within the shelter of the Island of Mull, and penetrates deeper among the mountains of the western highlands than almost any other. The Dalriadic Scots came from Ireland and settled here about the 5th century, in circumstances of a very romantic nature. There lived in Ulster a very beautiful damsel called Deirdre, whom Conor, the King of Ulster, was bringing up with the intention of making his wife. The maiden, however, set her heart upon Naisi, the eldest of the three sons of Uisnach, one of the chief nobles of Ulster. Naisi made her his wife, and, to escape from the anger and power of the king, with his beautiful bride, his two brothers, Ainli and Ardan, and all his clan, fled to Alba, as Scotland was then called. Here he was well received by Aidan, King of Alba, and became, in his adopted country, as great a man as he had been in Erin. He and his brothers lived in a castle still known in the language of the country as *Dun Mac Uisneachan*, or the Fort of the sons of Uisnach.

Conor, however, dissembled his anger and professed great sorrow at the loss of his gallant young chieftains. He accordingly sent Fergus, another chieftain of Ulster, to Alba to endeavour to induce Naisi and his brethren to return to Ulster. Fergus found them living very happily at their fort, amusing themselves by fishing in the loch and hunting on the hills. By fair promises, and by arousing the patriotism of Naisi he effected his object. "Erin," said Naisi, "is dearer to me than Alba. We will go with you," and though Deirdre, with womanly apprehension, remonstrated, with much reluctance she accompanied her husband. The result may be anticipated. The brothers were treacherously slain, but King Conor did not, as he designed, secure Deirdre. She died by her own hand on the graves of the Sons of Uisnach.

The tracing of the footsteps of these Dalriadic Scots, as revealed in the names still pertaining to various prominent objects in the neighbourhood of Loch Etive, would seem to be the chief subject of the book, but the work is by no means confined to this. The anonymous author and his companions wander among the wilds of the district, visiting forts, cromlechs and cairns, discussing ancient legends, poems, and folk-lore, and the manners and customs of the people both ancient and modern.

The Fort of the Sons of Uisnach claimed, of course, a first place in their regard. It was overwhelmed with legends and traditions. It was called Beregonium; the capital of the kings of the Picts; the Halls of Selma, where Fingal and Ossian lived and sang; also the capital of Queen Hynde, who lived there in a state of great splendour and high civilization, with a Christianity earlier than that of Ireland. These myths and fictions the author first clears away and then describes, with the skill of a practised antiquary, the castle itself. It is situate on a hill, rising abruptly, in some places almost perpendicularly, to a height of some 150 feet. On the top is a platform some 250 or 300 yards long by about 50 broad, surrounded on the outer edge, except where the precipitous cliffs formed a natural defence, by a vitrified wall, within which, at a distance of 9 feet, on the western side was another wall. The outer walls only were vitrified, the vitrification not being carried inside where more refined work was required. The inhabited buildings were on the western side of the platform, which was the highest part. They occupied an area of about 45 yards long and 40 broad, surrounded by a strong wall regularly built. Within this was an inner wall following the slope of the ground. The apartments were not rectangular. Excavations were made among the *debris*, but nothing was found except the bones of common animals, save a round iron brooch and some bronze wire. A more interesting object, however, was dug up at a point of the northern wall. It was of the form of a cap, or cover, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, having a cavity on one side into which something might have fitted. On the other side it was enamelled in *champlevé*, in concentric circles of a red colour, whilst the centre was slightly yellow.

These vitrified forts are not of very extreme antiquity. They were probably erected about the period of the early centuries of the Christian era, and indicate a rude people learning to emerge from a ruder state shown by building loose stone walls. "These forts, the author says, were a fashion brought from the east of Scotland to the west. The later influx of people from the west, or Ireland, was accompanied by no such mode of building, although previously the east, perhaps by way of the north, had innoculated the Western Highlands with the habit, and slightly touched the opposite coast of Ireland." Whether this practice was the result of an accidental discovery or direct act of invention does not appear. There are stones of various kinds in Scotland which will soften and cohere by the action of fire, and as, at the time these forts were constructed the whole district was forest, there was no lack of material for fires.

The author concludes with a thoughtful, learned, and valuable chapter on the Ethnology of Celtic races of the British Islands, in which he accounts for what has puzzled many: viz., the intermingling of fair and dark people. His opinion is, and it seems to be well supported, that the Celts who immigrated from the east were a tall, red-haired, fair people, that in Scotland and Ireland they found a smaller, dark-haired, race, whom they conquered, and with whom they afterwards intermingled, and that these two races were afterwards modified by further immigrations from Denmark and Scandinavia.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE CHURCH SURVEYS, 1649-1655.

Edited by Lieut. Colonel Henry Fishwick, F.S.A., &c., Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 8vo, 1879.

The formation of the Record Society for the publication of original documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire is another evidence of the increasing interest taken in historical and archæological literature. We should like to see a similar society in every county. As the National Records, such as the documents printed in Rymer's Fœdera, the Charter and Patent Rolls, and, later, the State Papers, form the basis of national history, so, in like manner, do the Domesday Survey, the Red and Black Books of the Exchequer, the Testa de Nevil, Pedes Finium, Inquisitions post mortem, de Banco and Assize Rolls, not to mention Wills, Parish Registers, &c., (and for the particular district which this Society covers, the special Records of the Palatinate of Chester and the Duchy of Lancaster) form the basis of Topography and Genealogy. Unless supported by such unquestionable authorities local Histories are of little value, and every County History, so far as it is wanting in such evidences, is worthless. All, therefore, who are interested in topographical and genealogical history, who desire to know the authentic devolution of manors and estates, and their several special privileges, franchises, and customs, together with the faithful descent of families, must feel grateful to the originators of this new and valuable Society. The names on the Council are such as to command confidence and respect. It may, perhaps, be invidious to mention names, but we cannot refrain from noting those of E. C. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, Colonel Chester, LL.D., J. Paul Rylands, H. H. Howorth, and J. P. Earwaker, all, except Colonel Chester, whose reputation is far more than European, Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.

The first Volume issued by the Society is now before us. It contains the Church Surveys of Lancashire and Cheshire. The natural course, we should have thought, for such a Society to take would be to have begun at the beginning, and have printed the text of Domesday for the two counties, with, perhaps, a translation. Lancashire does not appear in the Domesday Survey under its proper title, but Furness, and the northern part of the county, together with portions of Westmorland and Cumberland, are included in the West Riding of Yorkshire, whilst that part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and the Mersey, which at the time of the Survey comprehended six hundreds and 188 manors, is described under Cheshire. In these circumstances it is especially desirable, that the entries in Domesday of all the Lancashire manors should be collected and brought under one head. This might be followed by Lists of Knights' Fees, as shown at different periods, so bringing down the material for local history. The Council, however, doubtless for very sufficient reasons, has judged otherwise.

The Surveys now issued are of great interest and value, falling as they do, in a period when episcopal jurisdiction had been extinguished, and Ecclesiastical Records had consequently ceased to be kept; and, notwith-

standing that abstracts of some of these Surveys have been already printed, the Society has done well in bringing them together into one volume, and printing them *in extenso*.

By several ordinances made in parliament in the year 1646, all Archbishops and Bishops were abolished and their lands vested in trustees for sale, and in 1649, by other ordinances the same course was taken with respect to Deans and Chapters and Collegiate Churches. The parliament having obtained possession of all the lands and revenues attached to Cathedrals made a further Ordinance entitled "Maintenance for Preaching Ministers and other pious uses." It recites the purport of the above-mentioned Ordinance, and declares that it had seemed meet to the Commons of England to set apart all tithes, oblations, obventions, &c., &c., belonging to the suppressed dignitaries, together with £20,000 belonging to the late King and Crown of England, for the maintenance of Preaching Ministers in such cities and towns throughout England and Wales as might be wanting. These possessions spiritual are then assigned to certain trustees to pay salaries and augmentations to Preaching Ministers settled or confirmed by parliament, and to increase the maintenance of the Masters of Colleges in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For the purpose of carrying out these objects it was ordered that Commissioners should be appointed in every county, with power and authority to enquire into the full value of all parsonages and vicarages presentative, and all other ecclesiastical benefices and livings unto which Cure of Souls was annexed, the names of the then incumbents, and of such persons as received the profits and to whose use, and who supplied the Cure and what he had for his Salary, how many Chapels belonged to the parish Church, and how situated and fit to be united, or divided into separate parishes, and how the said Churches and Chapels were provided with Preaching Ministers, that so course might be taken for providing both for preaching and for maintenance, where the same might be found necessary.

These are the general heads of enquiry which the Commissioners were directed to make, and the volume now printed contains the results of the Inquisitions made before the Commissioners and a Jury, so far as the county of Lancaster was concerned. Unfortunately the Parochial Surveys for Chester, if ever made, are not now extant.

The persons appointed as Commissioners for the county of Lancaster were all of good position in the county, but, of course, those only who had adhered to the parliament. The Jurors, also, upon the Inquisitions are almost always described as "gentlemen." Their names alone are of no inconsiderable value for genealogical purposes. Looking at the persons by whom the Inquisitions were made there cannot be a doubt as to the accuracy of the Returns as regards matters of fact, but in cases of opinion very wide allowance must be made for the deep prejudices of the times. All the loyal clergy had been deprived, their benefices sequestrated, and their offices filled by preachers put in by parliamentary authority. It some cases it is noted that the wives of deprived ministers had an allowance of one-fifth of the value of their husband's benefices, for the support of themselves and their families.

The Returns afford a vast amount of information as to the unsatisfactory condition of the parochial system in Lancashire. The parishes, in many instances, were exceedingly large, the parish Church having attached to it several Chapels of Ease, some of them several miles distant, and, it is feared, the number of clergy was very inadequate. Out of 181 Churches and Chapels no fewer than 38 were without a minister, chiefly for want of "maintenance." Some such measure, therefore, as that proposed by parliament for dividing and readjusting parishes, and increasing such ministrations as then existed, was very necessary. The same object, by different means, has been, and is being, carried out in our own time.

It is announced that the next Volume of the Society will be the Inquisitions post mortem for Lancashire during the Stewart period, which is edited by J. Paul Rylands, Esq., F.S.A., and is nearly ready for issue, as is also the first Volume of Parish Registers of Prestbury, in Cheshire, edited by James Croston, Esq., F.S.A.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS IN THE CHURCH OF KEMPLEY, NEAR ROSS. By John Thomas Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A. Archæologia, Vol. xlvj. Part I., No. vj.

The parish of Kempley, though described as near Ross, is in the county of Gloucester and, therefore, falls within the district which the "Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society is intended to cover. In 1871, Mr. J. Henry Middleton, F.S.A., a member of this Society, to whom we are much indebted, is stated to have discovered on the walls and barrel vault of the Chancel extensive paintings, of which, having removed the whitewash, he made careful drawings, which he presented to the Society of Antiquaries. It will be remembered that this Church and its paintings were noticed by our President in his inaugural address, delivered at Cheltenham, on 8th July, 1879. Mr. Gambier Parry, however, remarked that the paintings had been discovered by the clergyman of the parish, who removed the whitewash with scarcely any other instrument than a common knife. Into this discrepency we shall not enter.

These paintings are considered to be of the 12th century, contemporary with the Church, and the Society of Antiquaries has re-produced Mr. Middleton's drawings in chromo-lithography, which have been very carefully described by Mr. Micklethwaite in the volume of the Archæologia just issued; and Mr. Middleton has added some remarks on the method used in executing the paintings, which, he says, are not true frescoes, inasmuch as the paintings were not made on freshly-laid and wet stucco, and he considers that the Kempley paintings were executed on dry stucco in tempera, with, probably, a medium of egg and vinegar, or perhaps size.

We shall refrain from adding anything further, as there is a reprint of the notice in question in the library of the Society. The general subject is described in the President's address above cited, who relates the means adopted, with the best intention, for the preservation of the paintings, but which, unfortunately, has destroyed their beauty, and greatly deteriorated their valne.

PEEPS INTO THE HAUNTS AND HOMES OF THE RURAL POPULATION OF CORNWALL. Being Reminiscenses of Cornish Character and Characteristics, illustrative of the Dialect, Peculiarities, &c., &c., of the inhabitants of West and North Cornwall. By J. T. TREGELLAS, illustrated by R. H. CARTER and J. KING JAMES.

Truro: Netherton & Worth. London: Houlston & Sons.

IN these days of Railways, Policemen, Board-Schools, and other improvements, provincial peculiarities, as well in speech as in manners and customs, are rapidly becoming obliterated. Almost every county in England had, and to some extent yet has, its own special peculiarities of language. We can scarcely call these differences *dialects*, for that they are not; nor are they entirely corruptions of language, though that is the case to some extent. They are rather the use of words and phrases, and manner of pronunciation of genuine teutonic or celtic character, words which have not been adopted into the language of literature, and have not, as yet, in remote districts, to any great extent, been influenced by close communication with the written tongue. They are not what the local people themselves call "Dictionary words." These peculiarities are most valuable to the student of ethnology and philology, to which sciences the man who embalms them renders the greatest service. Few, however, possess the faculty of doing this effectively. It requires very varied gifts, —a frank, sympathetic and cordial manner, a quick ear, and an ability to convey to others the pronunciation and inflection of voice which he hears and desires to preserve.

In no part of England, perhaps, is retained, in a more marked manner, special characteristics in language, domestic economy, and manners, than in the population of West Cornwall. The people are totally distinct, and in almost every respect different, from the quarreymen and pitmen of Wales and the Forest of Dean, navvies, or others of the same class; and the author of the little work under notice, himself a Cornishman and brought up in the midst of this peculiar race, has been most successful in giving a very vivid portraiture of the Cornish miner in all his relations of life. Mr. Tregellas, during his life, from time to time, published short sketches, which were, after his death, re-published in a small volume, as "Cornish Tales," which are not only most valuable as illustrative of the manners, customs, and language of the mining population of Cornwall, but abound in racy humour. The same may be said of this little volume of posthumous papers by the same writer, which is most fitly dedicated to Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, a very diligent student of the subject of which it treats. The book is very charmingly illustrated.

MEMORIES OF TROUBLOUS TIMES. Peing the History of Dame Alicia Chamberlayne, of Ravensholme, Gloucestershire. By Emma Marshall. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1880.

We have, on a previous page, given a notice of the valuable "Memorials of the Civil War in Herefordshire," by the late Rev. John Webb. In that work the gallant defence of Gloucester by Colonel Massey is somewhat fully detailed, but the condition of the city, within the walls, is not treated of. This omision is, to some extent, supplied in the little volume before us. The historical facts relating to the seige are taken from the *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, a tract first published during the Civil War, and re-published in 1825, in Gloucester, with an Introduction by the above mentioned Mr. Webb. A genuine autobiography of the 17th century is made the basis of a story charmingly written, very much in the style of Miss Holt's popular works, and very full of incident, as a story of the exciting time of the lamentable internecine war, when son was often arrayed against father, and brother against brother, needs must be. Though the author disclaims having followed with precision the literary style of two centuries ago, and has avoided the unsettled orthography of the period, she has, nevertheless, quite caught the quaint spirit of the style. The characters are well drawn, and the work is instructive and interesting, and of more than local interest.

WYNNSTAY AND THE WYNNS; a Volume of Varieties, put together by the author of the Gossiping Guide to Wales. Oswestry: Woodall and Venables.

This little Volume does not aspire to be a work of very great research, but it succeeds well in fulfilling its modest title, and is of special local interest, extending to this border district. The sketch of the family history of the Wynns and Williams is well written, and affords many curious glimpses of the state of Society in the last century. The book is well illustrated.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Mr. Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, who is known as the author of "The Clan Battle of Perth in 1396," and of a "Genealogical Account of the Highland Families of Shaw," has announced the publication, by subscription, of *Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh, and the Clan Chattan.* The Clan Chattan comprises the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Davidsons, Macgillivrays, Shaws, Farquharsons, Macbeans, Macqueens, Macphails, and others, and is now almost the only one of the Great Highland Clans without a printed history, although its career has been as varied and interesting as that of any.

These Clan Memoirs are very closely interwoven with, and throw much light on, the general history of the Highlands, and consequently on the general history of Scotland, whilst they are very valuable genealogically. A work of this kind, therefore, has a claim, not only upon the members of the particular Clan of which it specially treats, nor only upon the Scottish Clans generally, but upon all who take an interest in the history, social, domestic, and public, of the United Kingdom. We trust Mr. Shaw will receive the support which he deserves.

Mr. F. Teaque Cansick, who is well known for his publications of "Collections of Epitaphs copied from Monuments in the Churches and Church-yards of St. Pancras, and other Churches in Middlesex," proposes to publish, by subscription, a Collection of Inscriptions copied from the Monuments, Ledgers Stones, and Tablets, in Old St. Pancras Church, Churchyard, and the closed Cemetery of St. Giles'. In his former publication Mr. Cansick was unable to copy some of the inscriptions, on account of their having sunk into the earth, but these ancient Churchyards having now been converted into a Public Garden, during the alterations, through the kindness of the authorities, he carefully transcribed the Inscriptions, and copied the arms from the tombs, thereby rescuing from oblivion many memorials of great value. In these ancient burial-grounds have been interred members of the principal families in England, and many distinguished foreigners.

Plate 1.*

CHURCH OF THE B.V MARY,
CHELTENHAM.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society,

1879-80.

Part II.

Transactions at the Winter Meeting, held at Bristol,

ON

Tuesday, 27th January, 1880.

The Winter Meeting of the Society for reading Papers, &c., was held at Bristol, on Tuesday, 27th January, 1880. A Meeting of the Council was held in the Committee Room of the Bristol Museum and Library in the afternoon, which was very fully attended. Afterwards many of the members dined together at the Clifton Down Hotel, when Mr. T. Gambier Parry, the President of the Society, occupied the Chair, being supported by Sir William V. Guise, Bart., President of the Council, and other prominent members of the Society. A Conversazione was held at the Museum, at eight o'clock, where various antiquities, and other curious objects, had been temporarily collected for inspection, through the exertions of Mr. John Reynolds, the local Secretary. The objects exhibited were not very numerous, but possessed considerable interest. A list of the most striking will be appended to this notice. There were present the President, Mr. T. Gambier Parry, Sir William V. Guise, Bart., Sir John Maclean, Alderman Fox, Dr. Beddoe, Right Rev. Dr. Twells, Dr. Burder, Dr. Webster, Dr. Willet, Revs. Dr. Caldicott, T. P. Wadley; Messrs. E. A. Hudd, J. R. Bramble, T. Kerslake, W. H. Budgett, J. F. Nicholls, J. Taylor, W. George, W. E. Jones, John Williams, S. H. Swayne, J. H. Woodward, A. T. Martin, W. S. Paul, E. Strickland, A. Cox. W. Adlam, R. L. Clough, W. J. Fedden, W. P. Hudden, C. H. Pritchett, F. Shum; the Hon. Secretaries: Mr. P. Hallett and Rev. W. Bazeley: Local Secretary: Mr. J. Reynolds, and many other members.

The members and visitors afterwards assembled in the Lecture Theatre for the purpose of hearing Papers read. The chair was occupied by MR. T. GAMBIER PARRY, who commenced the proceedings by reading a most eloquent essay, entitled: "*The Force and Value of Fine Art in Archæology*," which will be printed in this volume.

A most interesting and instructive Paper was then read by ALDERMAN F. F. FOX, on "*The Guild of the Merchant Tailors of Bristol.*" He said Trade Unions were by no means of modern origin, and if they were to be condemned wholesale, the wisdom of our forefathers must suffer some abatement of respect. There were, however, very wide differences between the trade unions of the nineteenth century and the mediæval craft-guilds. The defensive attitude between men and masters, or rather the mutual antagonism of the employers and the employed, was entirely modern, and in the earlier and purer form of trade union would have been as inconsistent as for the ranks of an army to combine against the officers, and the officers against the ranks. Masters and men were originally one body, having one common object, united in the defences of their one self; instead of being in the condition of a mutinous and disorganized army. The earlier guilds were rightly named fraternities, for the domestic charities and common brotherhood was the bond of their union. It happened with regard to the Merchant Tailors' Guild of Bristol, which presented the usual features of a mediæval craft-guild or brotherhood, that it rarely in the original ordinances (A.D. 1392) was called a craft or mystery, but most repeatedly a fraternity—a society, in fact, of men and women, or, as they more affectionately designated themselves, brethren and sistren. It was about the time of the setting out of the Canterbury pilgrims from the Tabard, in Southwark, at the end of the 14th century, that the fraternity of Merchant Tailors was established in Bristol, under the designation of the "Fraternity of St. John the Baptist," and prior to its institution it was stated that the "craft of taillours" in the city had been, and was still, greatly slandered in many parts of the realm, "insomuch that any ribald or other person of the said craft, not skilled in the art of clothing, or not belonging to the business, or who stole the cloth entrusted to him to the great slander of the town and craft, and to the great damage of the people, in default that good ordinance is not made, as in the case of London, York, and other places of the realm, in which cities and towns it is ordained that no man should be received into the franchise or freedom of the craft to cut cloth unless he be presented, by the master and wardens of the craft, to the mayor of the town as an able and skilful person in his craft, therefore it was ordained that from henceforth no man of the Craft of Tailors should be enfranchised unless the master and wardens of the said Craft of St. John the Baptist, in Bristowe, shall witness to the mayor and all the courts that he is a person, able, of good condition, and good name, and full perfect of his craft; and it was further ordained that the person so enfranchised should hold his craft in an open place, and not in chambers in corners, and that no person not enfranchised should hold an apprentice."

It is evident from what is here stated that, so far as its secular character was concerned, the object of the Guild was to secure honesty and

integrity in the craft, good material, and good workmanship. But this, Mr. Fox pointed out, was only one of its designs, and he quoted largely from the Statutes of the Guild to show how fully it was permeated by religious principles; how that the honour and glory of God and goodwill towards men were strongly inculcated. Love and charity, and the promotion of peace and harmony among the brethren and sistren, sympathy in affliction, and reverence of the departed brother or sister, were the leading and guiding principles of the Fraternity, and these objects were endeavoured to be secured by minute regulations at every step in the Ordinances.

Mr. Fox remarked that under the Act for the Dissolution of Colleges, (37th Henry VIII., cap. 4), the possessions of certain fraternities, brotherhoods, and guilds that had been dissolved with the colleges and chantries, were vested in the Crown, and the King was empowered to send out Commissioners to seize the possessions of others under the plea that they should be used and exercised to more godly and virtuous purposes. The Act of 1st Edward VI., c. 14, went beyond this, and handed over to the Crown "all fraternities, brotherhoods, and guilds being within the realm of England and Wales, and all lands, tenements and other hereditaments belonging to them or any of them," a procedure, as Mr. Toulmin Smith observes, as quoted by Mr. Fox, of "pure, wholesale, wanton robbery and plunder, done by an unscrupulous faction to satisfy their personal greed under the cover of law." The shallowness of the pretence of using the possessions of the confraternities "to more godly and virtuous purposes," is shewn, as pointed out by Mr. Fox, by the scrupulous care with which the religious objects of this Guild were extinguished when the Guild was suppressed, and its secular character only retained. The provision for religious observances, and the penalties prescribed for the neglect of them, in the original Ordinances, were intentionally obliterated, though it is still possible to decipher the regulations, in consequence of the obliteration not being complete. In the 12th year of Elizabeth the Ordinances were boldly remodelled, the Guild being newly entitled a "Society and Mystery," the religious element, except what was involved in the oath of allegiance and abjuration upon admission to the Guild, was entirely eliminated.

Mr. Fox gave many interesting details as to the working of the Guild in modern times, and concluded by expressing his regret at its gradual decline, and hope that means might be taken for its resusitation.

The President said they were much indebted to Alderman Fox for bringing before them those interesting reminiscences of an ancient guild, particularly as they showed that formerly men might always be sure of an honest tailor. All the interesting particulars contained in the paper, and which the reader had been considerate enough to cut out in order to bring his paper within the twenty minutes allowed, would appear in the Transactions of the Society, and would be very valuable. He moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Fox.

Since this paper was read Mr. Fox has enlarged it, and privately printed it with suitable woodcut illustrations, so that a brief abstract only is here printed.

A Paper was then read by MR. WILLIAM GEORGE "*On the date of the first Authentic Plan of Bristol.*" On the conclusion of the paper, the PRESIDENT, on behalf of the Society, thanked MR. GEORGE for his interesting communication. Ancient maps, he observed, were extremely valuable relics, and he wished, as a near neighbour of Gloucester, they had any maps equal to those of Bristol. MR. GEORGE remarked, in reply, that Bristol is very rich in maps.

MR. GEORGE'S Paper will be printed in this volume.

SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., of Bicknor Court, then read a Paper "*On the Earthworks in the Parish of English Bicknor,*" which will also be printed in this volume.

This was followed by an exhibition, by the aid of the Oxy-hydrogen lantern, of a number of views of ancient houses in Gloucester, kindly lent by MR. WALLER, of which a description was given by MR. JOHN TAYLOR.

Upon resuming, after a short rest for tea, MR. J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A., read a Paper "*On Penpark Hole, a Roman Lead Mine.* MR. NICHOLLS was followed by

MR. S. H. SWAYNE, M.R.C.S., of Clifton, who read a Paper "*On the recent discovery of the remains of Foundations of the Keep of Bristol Castle, and of three ancient Wells adjacent, with notes of the contents of one of the Wells.* Both these Papers will be printed in this volume.

DR. BEDDOE, F.R.S., then followed, reading the following Paper "*On Certain Old Bristolian Skulls, probably from St. Leonard's Church or Churchyard:—*"

During the year 1879, a house at the corner of St. Stephen Street and Corn Street, just outside the line of the old city wall, was being pulled down for re-building; and some archæological friend (I think MR. EDKINS) kindly informed me that human bones were being turned up in excavating the foundations. I visited the scene of operations, and possessed myself of five skulls, the only ones which were at all complete or capable of yielding measurement; even in these the lower jaws were awanting. The only object at all noteworthy, which was found near the bones, was a halfpenny of the early part of George the 3rd's reign: its date was, I believe, 1768, and it was a recent-looking coin, with a sharp impression.

Now the spot in question seems to have formed part of the site of St. Leonard's Church, which was pulled down in the early part of the reign of George the 3rd. MR. WM. GEORGE, who has carefully weighed the evidence on the point, informs me that the date of its demolition was almost certainly 1771, or very soon after the halfpenny was minted. It had been shut up for the previous ten years. These calvaria may therefore be confidently asserted to be older than 1760, but how much older it is impossible to say. Three of them appear to be masculine and two feminine. Of the former the average length is 7·35 inches; maximum breadth, 5·63; and height (basio bregmatic), 5·23; ditto (basio-maximal), 5·43; yielding a latitudinal index of 76·6, and an altitudinal one of 71·1 or

73·8. Of the latter the average length is 6.95 inches ; breadth, 5·2 ; height (basio-bregmatic), 4·85 ; and ditto (basio-maximal) 5·65 ; Indices, 74·8, and 69·8, or 72·6. They may, therefore, be described generally as dolichocephalic, or subdolichocephalic, and decidedly wanting in height. It may be added that they are phænozygous, and that their maximum breadth is parietal, or nearly so, and placed far back. There is one exception, a male skull which is somewhat rounder, and yields indices of 79·1 and 76·4. But in this also the maximum diameter is parietal, and the forehead rather poorly developed.

On the whole, these calvaria have a modern look, and resemble rather those disinterred from the graveyard of St. Werburgh than those from the vaults underneath that church.

Two other Papers were presented—one by Mr. T. S. Pope, on "*Early Work lately discovered in Bristol Cathedral ;*" and the other by Mr. John Taylor, on "*Thornbury Castle, in relation to Shakespeare's Henry VIII.*" It being, however, now close upon eleven o'clock, time would not admit of their being read. The writers and readers of Papers were respectively thanked for the interest they had shewn in the meeting, and for their labours on behalf of the Society.

Sir John Maclean said that before the Meeting closed he desired to say a few words with respect to the progress made in regard to the Great Will Book belonging to the Corporation of Bristol. The Corporation, somewhat more than a year ago, had very kindly and liberally consented to the Society employing a competent person to abstract the wills therein recorded, with a view to such abstracts being published by the Society. The Rev. T. P. Wadley, M.A., Rector of Naunton Beauchamp, and an Honorary Member of the Worcester Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society, a gentlemen most eminently qualified, had most obligingly undertaken the work and had been most assiduous and persevering in carrying it on. He had spent several weeks in Bristol, at his own expense, in daily attendance at the Council House, and he spoke in warm terms of the attention and courtesy he had invariably received from the officials there. Mr. Wadley had abstracted a large number of the ancient wills, and it was due to him that the Society should express its deep sense of its obligation for the great service he was so kindly and gratuitously rendering to the Society, and he, Sir John, proposed that the thanks of the Society be accorded to Mr. Wadley for his valuable and unremitting services to the Society in abstracting for the Society the Wills recorded in the Municipal Registers of Bristol.

Mr. John Taylor, in seconding the proposal, said he could personally testify to the great interest Mr. Wadley was taking in the work referred to, and to the assiduity with which he pursued it.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks to the President closed the proceedings.

TEMPORARY MUSEUM.

Among the objects exhibited were the following :—

By PAYMASTER RAMSEY, R.N.—

A collection of Assegais, and a Native Shield, taken at Ulundi, Zululand, after the battle.

Photographs of Zulu landscapes ; and a Cocoa-nut Shell, mounted in oxydised silver.

By MAJOR KINGSTON, of Clifton—

A Gauntlet, and a Saddle-covering in blue velvet, with rich bullion embroidery, used by Queen Elizabeth on her entry into Bristol in State.

By MR. WILLIAM GEORGE—

Old Flint Pistol found in the woods at Avonhirst, Stoke Bishop.

Collection of Bristol and Gloucestershire Engravings.

Old Maps of Bristol and a View of Dunster Castle.

By MISS SWAYNE—

Copy of the *Bristol Mercury* newspaper of the year 1793.

Enamelled Gold Watch-case of the 18th Century.

And a Gold Chronometer, date 1712.

By MR. O. GILL, Clifton—

Water-colour Drawing of the interior of the lately demolished Church of St. Werburgh, Bristol.

By MR. R. LANG—

A Water-colour Drawing of the interior of the Chapel of Gaunt's Hospital (usually known as the Mayor's Chapel).

Drawing of the Bristol Brushmakers' Arms.

Three Views of Bristol.

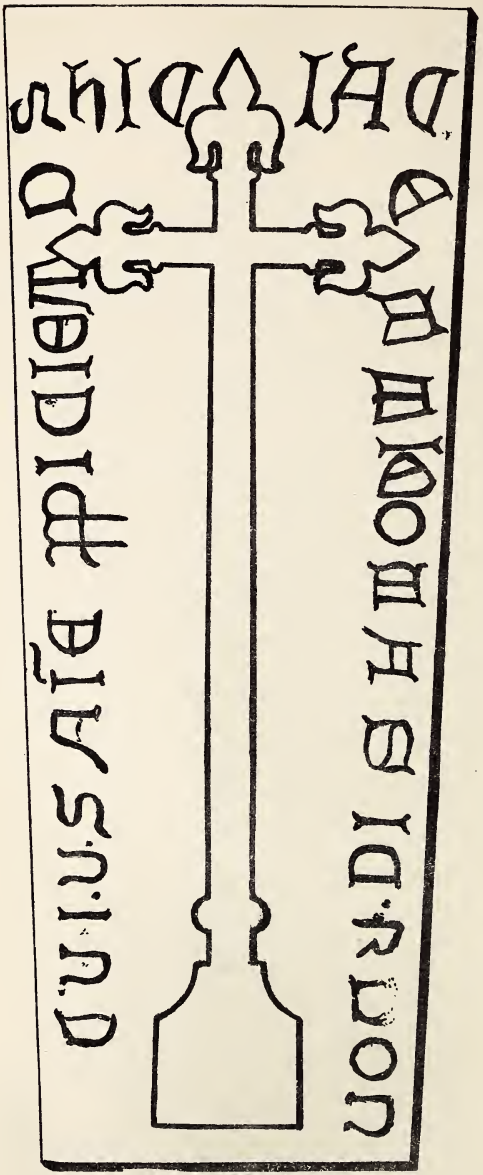
By MESSRS. LLEWELLYN & JAMES—

Collection of Bones and a Skull found in the ancient well in Bristol Castle (presented to the Society.)

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.—

Rubbings of Three Curious Ancient Sepulchral Slabs in the Church of English Bicknor (presented to the Society).

Two of the Slabs are figured in Cutt's "Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of Middle Ages." The first is a 14th Century Slab bearing a cross flory, which is somewhat remarkable



Monumental Slab, at English Bicknor Church.

(Scale 1 Inch to 1 Foot. W. Iago.)

in having the head of the cross separated from the shaft, though such separation is not very uncommon. There is a very splendid 12th Century example at Ewenny, Glamorganshire. A portion of the inscription, in lombardic characters, on the Bicknor slab is given by Cutts, who says, it is one of those which promise a certain number of days' pardon to all who shall pray for the soul of the deceased. It doubtless commemorates an ecclesiastic, probably one of the old rectors of the church (Cutts, p. 68., Pl. xxij.) The inscription is now much obliterated. Perhaps the drawing above mentioned was made previously to the church being *restored.*

The other Slab, figured by Cutts, is shewn on *Plate* xxvi. of his work, and is wrongly ascribed by him to Tintern Abbey. It measures 6 ft. 2 in. in length, and in breadth, at the head, 2 ft. 5 in., and at the foot, 1 ft. 11 in., and is attributed by Cutts to the 15th century. We are, however, inclined to place it rather in the early part of the 16th century—say 1500-1520. An illustration of it is annexed (*Plate* VII*) It will be seen that the letters are of a peculiar character, and some of them are so nearly alike that, in some cases, it is difficult to read with certainty the name of the deceased: *e.g.*, the initial letter of the christian name very closely resembles the final letter in "jacet," and the four last letters seeming to be "O M A S," would make the name appear very like Thomas, but, to read it so, we must take the second and third characters in the name to make "H." This, however, can scarcely be. We conclude that the name is Nicholas, though the letter read as "C" is unlike any other "C" in the inscription. The surname reads "IC·RDON." The second letter, as it stands, is certainly "C," but this must be inaccurate, and we believe it to be an unfinished "E," the horizontal stroke having been accidentally omitted. The name "Jordan," which at the date of the stone might have been written Jerdon, is an ancient one in the parish. Thomas Jurdan, senr., and Thomas Jurdan, junr., Agnes Jurdan, and William Jurdan were assessed to the subsidy in English Bicknor in 1522 (see Trans. I., 95), and the name pervades the parish registers, which commence in 1561, throughout. On an altar tomb, just outside the south door of the church, are inscriptions in memory of John Jordan, who died 10th April, 1610; Edmund Jordan, who died 2nd Nov., 1611; and Benedick Jordan, who died 1st Aug., 1661; and on another altar tomb, close by, are inscriptions in memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Jordan, who died 22nd Sept. 1749, aged 81; and of John, Edmund, and Hannah, sons and daughters of John Jordan and Elizabeth his wife, who were all buried before 16th April, 1697. Another inscription commemorates Ann Hull, widow, grandmother of the above-named children, who died 21st Decr., 1718, in the 88th year of her age; also Anne wife of John LibLand, gent., and daughter of John Jordan by Elizabeth his wife, born March 16th, 1695, and buried Oct. 25th, 1708 (*sic*, but should be 1718). On the end of this tomb is a shield of arms:—*A lion ramp. betw. 8 crosses-crosslet fitchée and a chief*, for Jordan, *impaling: a chev. erm. betw. three lions' heads, erased*, for Hall, or Hull, *Crest, a lion's head erased.*

It will be observed that in the inscription after the "C" in the surname there is a dot. We might have considered this as a mark of contraction were it not that two similar dots are found between the letters in the word "Cujus." These are probably mistakes of the inscriber.

The inscription would read—

"HIC IACET NICHOLAS IORDAN CUIUS AIE PPICIET DS

The third Bicknor Slab is of very unusal design. It is a cross flory tri-parted. It bears an inscription, but it is very much defaced and partly covered by the end of one of the chancel stalls.

THE FORCE AND VALUE OF FINE ART IN ARCHÆOLOGY.

By T. GAMBIER PARRY, Esq., President of the Society.

Read at Bristol, 27th January, 1880.

In the short time allowed for each paper this evening I can pretend to offer you no more than the merest outline of this subject. It is one of such depth and such refinement as needs much study and wide sympathy to grasp, and much time and power, too, to put its vague suggestive thoughts into such polished form as it deserves. If archæology involved no more than a study of *things*, *old things*, it would still find favour with many minds; but as the study of old things implies also the study of all that throws light upon them, such as what a scientific man would call their surroundings, and a poet their associations, the boundaries of archæology become exceedingly wide, and its actual limits hard to define. In it the studies of the scholar, the philosopher, the poet, and the antiquary find full scope. History is a title almost as wide, but history is properly a department, and a most important one, of archæology. The genius of movement in this busy world is apt to regard the antiquary as a sort of living curiosity. It looks on him as a creature infected with mould and rust, and has no idea of the enthusiasm which lies beneath his quiet skin. Happily for human nature, enthusiasm is of many kinds, and is often the shallowest where it is most demonstrative. The fact is that the world knows very little of its component parts, and little does it reflect on the words of the poet who spoke of men's "hermit souls." Those words would go to the very heart of an antiquary, and express to him his very self; picturing to him the quiet depth of that stream of gentle but invincible enthusiasm which buoys him up and carries him through his work, brightening the spirit of his enterprise, and filling the mirror of his contemplation with ideas. I am not confounding perseverance with enthusiasm. An antiquary's work is hard, and there is no doubt of his perseverance if he be worth his rust. It

might at first blush be hard to believe in the enthusiasm of writing a dictionary, which involves the philology of the antiquary; or of collating dates; or of classifying musty deeds or rusty coins; but granting its indomitable perseverance, and granting, too, the dry mechanical labour it involves, I believe that without that quality of a deep and quiet enthusiasm, which is the very life of all good continuous work, the spirit of the archæologist, whether he be historian, philosopher, poet, or antiquary, would sink beneath its work, and his "hermit soul" would die.

The association of fine arts with archæology, and the part they play in it, will be measured by the knowledge that people have of them, and be valued according to the tone and tenor of their many-sided minds. The accomplished and thorough antiquary should have the power of very wide sympathies, and be at once a historian and an artist. Art and history must go side by side in archæology to supply and illustrate each other, for what is history without poetry, and what is art without fact? History is the typal picture of men and things in all time; and art is that power over material by which men in all ages have rejoiced in setting forth to others the thoughts of their hearts. Thus art and history are bound together, and poetry and philosophy belong to both; for philosophy is the moral of history, and poetry is that plastic power of illustration which gives life and action to it all. What is it that fills the history of ancient art with all its vivid interest, and what is it that endows that art itself with all its captivating charm, but that it embodies the feeling, the heart, and the very soul of mankind? Facts and feelings are equally precious in any just and true estimate of human life. For what is feeling but, in truth, a great result; the end of a complicated tissue of sympathies and antipathies, that may for the moment be taken as a point of rest. But life cannot rest, and the more intense its power to feel the more impossible to rest. It may be stayed for a while in contemplation; it may ponder and linger captivated or overwhelmed; but the fire that smoulders will break out at last; and the result, in a burst of eloquence, poetry, or art, is the relief of the over-burdened mind.

To such an origin as this it is that we owe the birth, the growth, and the perfection of ancient art, with all its power to fascinate, to command, and to draw together the whole brotherhood of mankind. It is the design and intention of the heart, the warmth and passion of the living man, that glows in that ancient art, and makes it precious to us through all time. The intellect alone may be as cold as the moon and live, but art must have sun in it or die.

But the broad brotherhood of archæologists must not be expected to appreciate art alike. Their unanimous verdict would probably be that its pursuit was interesting and pleasurable; but only those who could interpret its forms and features into a living language could feel the sacred fire. But if the poetry and symbolism of perfect art is ill understood by some, the rudeness of primitive art, and that of half civilised nations, is still more so. But, in truth, rough work is often the most expressive, like a bold sketch dashed off under strong impulse. So with primitive art; its very roughness and impracticability are often the true signs of an impulse and an idea too big for the untrained mind to grasp, or the hand to form. The form of beauty or of power that that mind could grasp was that of hard severity, like his life. The angular boldness of its extreme simplicity was the very type of that life. And what had he but that life to express by the work of his hands, that others through those bold strokes might trace the motions of his heart? It is folly to despise archæic art for want of beauty. It is better far to allow the weakness of the artist, and through his rude lines to love the man, and honour the grandeur of his emotions. There is more vigour of life, and heroic grandeur in the bold action of the sculptures of Nineveh than in half the modern art we see, with all its perfection of anatomy and analysis of expression. There is often more truth of nature and intensity of heart in the architecture and painting of our own middle ages than in many a modern work the world admires. It is folly to talk of their faults of technicality and precision, which are evident to all. For what is it that makes all ancient art precious but its testimony of the emotions that impelled

it, and of that life, with all its surroundings, its nature, its motives, its joys and pains, that made those emotions possible?

Those works are the precious relics of men and nations; and cold is the sense and shallow is the criticism that fails to trace through all their faulty forms the fire of their poetry; and through the rough hewings of their sculpture and ideal conventionality of their painting to reverence the simple grandeur of ancient days. But the unpoetic or scientific archæologist, for whom the sacred fire burns in vain, will hardly care to regard them in this light. He will be contented to allow that the fine arts have always been associated with the highest intelligence and civilization of their age. He will value their styles as arbiters of chronology. He will trace up their origin to their fountain head in architecture, that first-born art of human necessity, endeared to men by all they associate with home—endeared, and therefore embellished. He will go further, and trace up architecture itself to the necessities of construction and materials. He may, and probably rightly, attribute our Pointed architecture, with all its grace and piquancy, to the inexhaustible genius of Oriental fancy. He may trace the perfect architecture of classic times to its origin in the constructive edifices of wood. The very form of the Pyramids suggests to him their birth, long before the earliest dynasty, in the heaps of piled stones which mark the passage or the resting-places of wandering tribes, or the monument of pre-historic victories. And further still in the depth of time Chinese architecture, with its turned-up ridges and quirked gables, seems to him (as they certainly do to me) to find their first forms in the primitive huts and barns of a race living on the wide watery plains of that land of rivers, where the bamboo reeds and rushes gave the first material ready at hand for roof and shelter.

Thus will he note the rise and progress of other arts, and trace their developement from the ingenuity of human necessity to their employment for the purposes of social life. His pleasure in the subject is solely intellectual, his profit *nil*. He goes in for knowledge, and the clash of theories and the intellectual pugnacity of schools and scholars only add to the zest and interest of his pursuit.

But with other students of archæology, who take a truer, nobler, view of the place and work of art in the world, all the elements of his study in history, philosophy, poetry, and antiquity will concentrate upon it. To him they will be precious, because he recognises in the arts not merely the illustrations of history, but the embodiment of that which makes that history live. Fine Art is in its nature pure, vast, heaven-born. Its relics reveal to the archæologist the highest motives and aspirations of antiquity. The subjects of his study in it will be very various, illuminating and vitalising each other. Still, for special purpose, they may be separated, and if, for one concluding thought, we may thus distinguish them, we may find that in the records of history we trace the life, in the annals of commerce and of travel we learn the habits, in literature the wisdom, and in fine art, the souls of men.

THE DATE OF THE FIRST AUTHENTIC PLAN OF BRISTOL.

By WILLIAM GEORGE.

Read at Bristol, 27th January, 1880.

BEFORE speaking of the first authentic plan of our city, it will be as well, perhaps, to refer to two early conjectural ones, which are given in Barrett's "History," and in Seyer's "Memoirs," of Bristol.

In the first volume of Seyer's work is a coloured plan, or Bird's-eye view, of Bristol, copied from Ricart's "Mayor's Kalendar." Whether it was drawn by Ricart himself (for on this point he is silent) or by his friend William Wyrcester, as suggested by Miss Toulmin Smith,[1] cannot now be ascertained.

The date of the original drawing would be about 1480. It is placed in Ricart's "Kalendar" immediately after his fabulous description of the building of Bristol by King Brynne or Brinnus. Seyer says this plan represents Ricart's notion of the city when so built;[2] but Mr. C. Pooley is of opinion that it is "intended to represent the town towards the conclusion of the Saxon era."[3] Though most interesting from being the earliest conjectural representation of our city known, it cannot be considered of any historical value.

There is a small plan of Bristol in Barrett's "History," which is intended to represent the city *before* Bristol Bridge was built. Barrett does not inform us whence he obtained this plan, which, Seyer says, "seemed to bear the mark of Chatterton's pen."[4] The High Cross is inserted, which was not erected until *after* the bridge was built, in 1247, and then certainly not in the style here

[1] Ricart's "Mayor's Kalendar," edited for the Camden Society by Miss Toulmin Smith, 1871, Int., vii., viii.

[2] "Mem. Bristol," I., 263. [3] "Crosses of Gloucestershire," p. 3.

[4] "Mem. Bristol," I., 263.

delineated. On account of this anachronism, and for other reasons, Seyer suspected it was not authentic and rejected it—we must do the same.

The first undoubted authentic plan of Bristol, hitherto recorded by Bristol historians, is that known as George Hoefnagle's, published in the third volume of Braun's, or Bruin's, "*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*," printed at Cologne, in 1581. This plan is well known to most of us through the cheap *fac-simile*, issued, a few years since, by Mr. John Lavars, of this city. Hoefnagle engraved some of the plans in the noble work mentioned, but his name is not on this of "Brightstowe." Ever since the publication of Joseph Ames's "Typographical Antiquities," in 1749, this plan has invariably been attributed to Hoefnagle, but on what authority we know not.[1] Horace Walpole supposes that Hoefnagle visited England; but the Rev. James Dallaway (a competent authority and a native of Bristol) asserts that he never was in this country. Braun, who gathered his maps and plans from any originals he could get, mentions that Hoefnagle had communicated to him many of Spanish places, but does not, as far as we can find, mention his being indebted to Hoefnagle for any plans of places in England.

Assuming that Dallaway is right in his assertion, it will be asked "whence then did Braun obtain the original delineation for his plan of our city?"

In the Sloane collection in the British Museum[2] is a MS. volume, which has been almost overlooked, entitled: "The Particular Description of England, with the Portratures of Certaine

[1] Suspecting the date, "1575," given by Ames to Braun's plan to be erroneous, we applied to Mr. Thomas Kerslake for information on the point, who kindly replied—"George Braun's preface to the 3rd volume of his 'Civitates' (in which the plan of 'Brighstowe' appeared) is dated 'Cologne, 1581.'" "Braun's address to the reader, in his first volume, is dated January 1st, 1575."

It may be assumed that Ames affixed the latter date to the plan of Bristol, forgetting that Braun's work was more than thirty years passing through the press, and that the plan appeared in the 3rd volume of it, printed in 1581. Ames's error has been copied by Walpole, Gough, and numerous other writers on Topography and Biography from 1749 to the present time. [2] Sloane MSS., 2596.

of the Chieffest Citties and Townes, 1588. By William Smith, Rouge Dragon." This has now, for the first time, been printed, and during the last month issued to subscribers. It is edited by Messrs. H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A., and Edmund Ashbee, F.S.A. This interesting work contains 230 coats of arms in gold and colours, and 16 coloured profile sketches and bird's-eye views of towns and cities. Amongst the latter—which are well drawn and do great credit to Smith's skill—is one of Bristol, and on it is the following note :—" Measured and laid down in Platforme by me, W. Smith, at my being at Bristow, the 30 & 31 of July Ano. Dni., 1568."[1]

The date on Smith's plan, 1568, is thirteen years *earlier* than that of Hoefnagle's. The two are similar though not identical; the former being the more accurate; *e.g.* Smith's has the chapel on the bridge, and an important gateway in the city-wall, neither being shown in Hoefnagle's plan. After carefully comparing them, our opinion is that Smith's plan is the original of Hoefnagle's.

There is other evidence besides that of their similarity.

We learn from the valuable Introduction to Smith's "England," that after his visit to Bristol he went to reside in Germany; kept an inn in Nuremburg; in 1580, married a German lady—Veronica Altensteig—wrote a book on German Topography, and returned to England in 1584.[2] The volume of Braun's "*Civitates*," containing the plan of "Brightstow," was published in Germany, during Smith's residence there. Hoefnagle left Antwerp in 1576, after its being taken by the Spaniards, and at the time Braun's 3rd volume was published lived near Smith.

Smith has not only bequeathed us a view of our city during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but has left us, also, a short and racy description of it. He writes :—

"Bristow is one of ye greatest and famoust Citties in England, and standeth vppon ye River of Auon, w^c^ 4 myles thence falleth into the Severn; over w^c^ River there is a fayre Brydge of Stone, with howses on eche syde lyke London Bridge, &

[1] Sloane MS. 2596. [2] Introduction, p. 6.

almost halff so long, although it have but 4 arches; so that one quarter of the Cittie standeth in Somersetshire. But the Bristollians will be a shyre of themselves, and not accompted in any other shyre. In ye est end of the Cittie is The Castell, wc they confess to stand in gloucestershyre. There is no dunghill in all the Cittie, nor any Sinck yt cometh from any howse, but all convaid vnder ye ground; neither use they any Cartes in their streets, but all Sleades. There is in ye Cittie 20 ffayre Churches, whereof 18 are parish Churches."[1]

Let us compare this with Braun's description. On the back of the plan he informs us, amongst other things, that "diamonds are so abundant at St. Vincent's rocks that you may load a ship with them;" and that "the church of St. Mary's, commonly called *Radcle*, was the most superb in the city." But in the geographical index, Braun adds, almost in the words of W. Smith, "that the city of Bristol is remarkably neat and elegant; carts are not used in the streets; no dirt is seen in them, but all impurities are carried off by subterraneous channels;" and that "the churches are beautiful, and the cemeteries spacious."[2]

From the evidence adduced, I think it fair to infer that Braun used Smith's MS. description of our city, as well as his plan.

There is a plan of Elizabethan Bristol in Barrett, page 57, but Barrett does not inform us whence it was copied. Seyer promised to re-produce it in his "Memoirs," but did not. This plan, the small one published by John Speed, in 1612, and the tiny one engraved by William Hollar, in 1673, are each based on Hoefnagle's, as Hoefnagle's is based on that of W. Smith.

Indeed, there does not appear that there was any engraved plan of Bristol, published from independent Survey, from 1568 to 1671, when the first of James Millerd's delightful ones was issued.

To Wm. Smith, therefore, the learned herald and topographer, we are indebted for our *first* authentic plan of Bristol, and for the second to James Millerd, Mercer, "cittizen and inhabitant

[1] Sloane MS. 2596. [2] Bath and Bristol Mag., 1833, ii., 308.

thereof." Seyer's copy of Millerd's large plan, first issued in 1673, is now the property of the Bristol Museum and Library.

It is to this plan of the ingenious old Bristol mercer that the following extract from our corporation records refers : "That the thanks of this House, with a piece of plate to the value of £10, with the city arms engraved thereon, be presented to Mr. James Millerd, for his present of a map of Bristol, being the *largest, exactest,* and *handsomist* that ever was yet drawn of this city."

The praise of the Corporation was as well deserved by Millerd as their piece of plate. No map of Bristol in the 17th century is so valuable as this large one of his, which was published in 1673, on four sheets and is entitled "An Exact Delineation of the Famous Citty of Bristoll & suburbs thereof."

NOTICE OF EARTHWORKS IN THE PARISH OF ENGLISH BICKNOR.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.

Read at Bristol, 27th January, 1880.

Those who are familiar with the beautiful scenery of the lower Wye must be acquainted with Symond's Yat, and the wide expanse of which it commands a view. It is situate about midway between Ross and Monmouth, on the left bank, or Gloucestershire side, of the river, from which it rises very abruptly by precipitous cliffs, in places 50 or 60 feet perpendicularly, to a height of about 300 feet above the level of the stream. The term "Yat," we may perhaps be allowed to say, has several significations, such as a gate, or opening, and a road. In either sense it is quite applicable to this spot. On the east side of the rock, the river flowing in a south-westernly direction suddenly changes its course and makes one of those remarkable windings for which the Wye is celebrated, and, flowing for about a mile nearly north-east, it gradually curves round to the west, and returns to the foot of the rock on the western side, having enclosed a peninsula, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide in its widest part, and containing an area of nearly 1000 acres. A portion of this is a farm called Huntsham, and the most part of the remainder common and woodlands. The whole is parcel of the manor of Goodrich, and, although on the left bank of the river, is in the county of Hereford. The county boundary crosses the isthmus under the rock from side to side. It is as being the gate, or opening, through this isthmus into the peninsula that we have said "Yat" signifies Gate.[1]" In the sense of road, or way,

[1] Since this was written our ingenious and erudite member, Mr. Kerslake, has called the attention of the writer to an example of the use of the word "Gate" in circumstances similar to Symond's Yat: that is, to an instance in which the Severn, some four miles above Shrewsbury, after having made a bold sweep, forming a peninsula, or holm, again very nearly approaches itself. This peninsula is marked on the Ordnance map as "The Isle," whilst the neck, or isthmus, is separately described as "Isle Gate."—See Mr. Kerslake's "St. Ewen, Bristol, and the Welsh Border. pp. 14, 15.

it is familiar to us all by the old phrase of "gang your own gate," (go your own way). The ancient highway leading from Coleford to Ross passed through this opening, close under the rock, and through Huntsham, crossing a ferry, or in earlier times a ford, to Goodrich, and thence on to Ross. Of this we shall speak further presently.

Of the thousands of persons who annually visit Symond's Yat, and admire the diversified scenery from the top of the rock, very few indeed are conscious that they are standing within a fortification of very considerable strength, which at some very early date was held by our British ancestors against invading foes. Such, however, is the fact.

The place has been marked "Intrenchment" on the Ordnance map, and it has been mentioned in some local topographical works, but, so far as we know, it has never, hitherto, been explored or described. From the neck of the peninsula precipitous cliffs diverge on both sides at an angle of about 45 degrees, and the defences consist of five segmentary banks of earth, very roughly concentric to the neck of the peninsula, from which the innermost is distant about 175 yards. These banks extend to the precipice on each side. On the outer side of each bank is a ditch whence the earth was thrown up. As usual, the inner bank is broader and higher than the others, and the ditch consequently deeper. From the top of this bank to the bottom of its ditch it is now 14 feet, and the ditch is 12 feet wide. The banks are about 20 yards apart, the two outer ones somewhat more, and these are less curved than the other three. This is partly to take the shortest way to the edge of the platform and partly to avoid leaving an acute recess at the end of each which would afford shelter to an enemy. The ends of the second, third, and fifth banks on the eastern side have been destroyed.

The position of the camp outside the peninsula, and with its defences towards the south, shew that it was intended for a defence against an enemy approaching from that side.

The original entrance to the camp is lost. The present roads so traverse the defences as to shew that they are of later date.

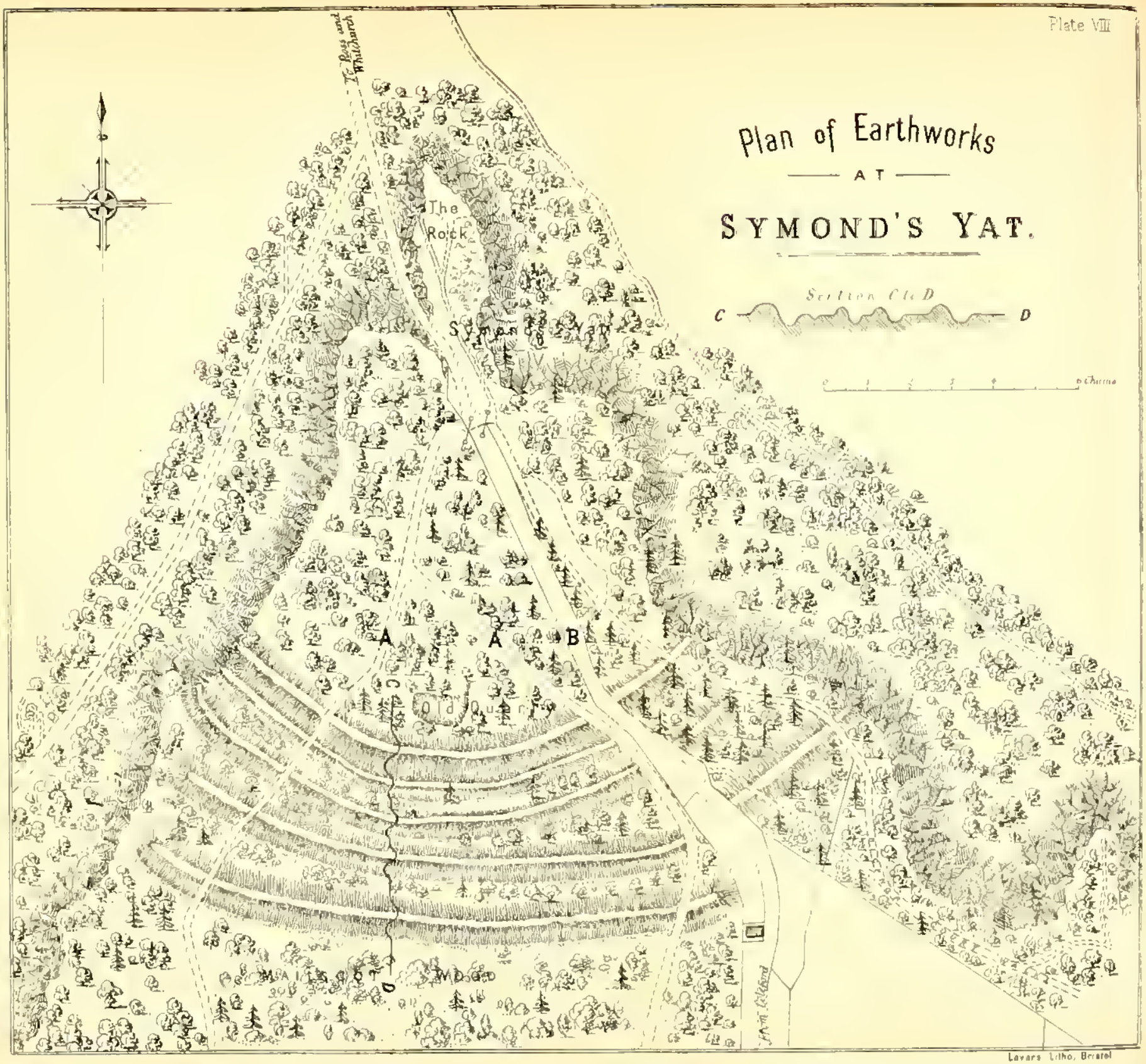
it is familiar to us all by the old phrase of "gang your own gate," (go your own way). The ancient highway leading from Coleford to Ross passed through this opening, close under the rock, and through Huntsham, crossing a ferry, or in earlier times a ford, to Goodrich, and thence on to Ross. Of this we shall speak further presently.

Of the thousands of persons who annually visit Symond's Yat, and admire the diversified scenery from the top of the rock, very few indeed are conscious that they are standing within a fortification of very considerable strength, which at some very early date was held by our British ancestors against invading foes. Such, however, is the fact.

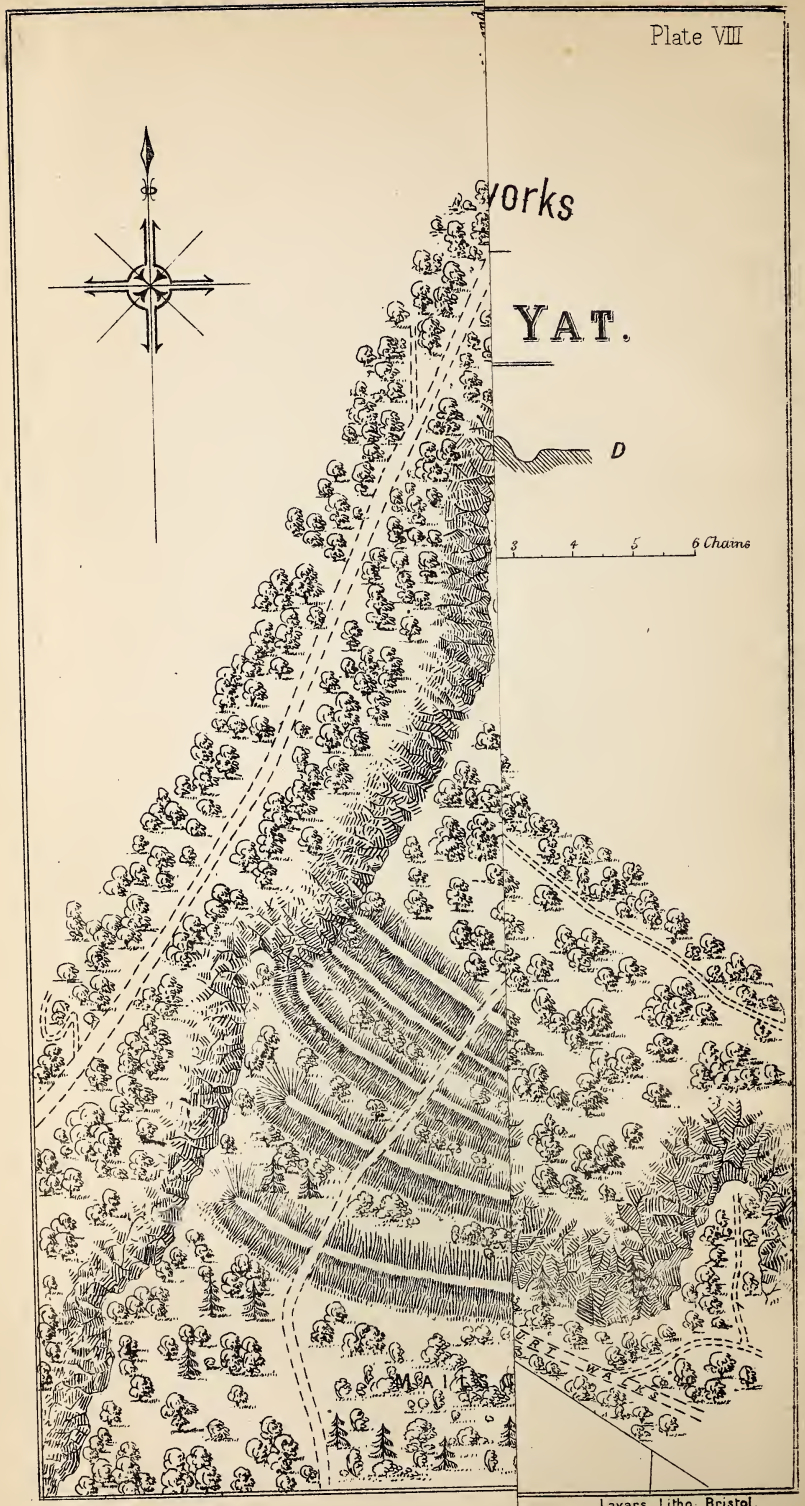
The place has been marked "Intrenchment" on the Ordnance map, and it has been mentioned in some local topographical works, but, so far as we know, it has never, hitherto, been explored or described. From the neck of the peninsula precipitous cliffs diverge on both sides at an angle of about 45 degrees, and the defences consist of five segmentary banks of earth, very roughly concentric to the neck of the peninsula, from which the innermost is distant about 175 yards. These banks extend to the precipice on each side. On the outer side of each bank is a ditch whence the earth was thrown up. As usual, the inner bank is broader and higher than the others, and the ditch consequently deeper. From the top of this bank to the bottom of its ditch it is now 14 feet, and the ditch is 12 feet wide. The banks are about 20 yards apart, the two outer ones somewhat more, and these are less curved than the other three. This is partly to take the shortest way to the edge of the platform and partly to avoid leaving an acute recess at the end of each which would afford shelter to an enemy. The ends of the second, third, and fifth banks on the eastern side have been destroyed.

The position of the camp outside the peninsula, and with its defences towards the south, shew that it was intended for a defence against an enemy approaching from that side.

The original entrance to the camp is lost. The present roads so traverse the defences as to shew that they are of later date.



Plan of Earthworks
AT
SYMOND'S YAT.



Lavars, Litho, Bristol.

Those marked A A on the map (*Plate* VIII), which intersect the embankment, are merely wood roads for hauling timber. The road marked B is a very ancient road, to which we have already alluded, being the highway from Ross to Coleford, by which the distance is a little over nine miles. There are, however, two ferries to cross,[1] but a new road having been made about a century ago from Lydbrook over Hangerbury hill, falling into the turnpike road from Gloucester, and the road down the valley of the Wye having been improved, the traffic has been diverted from the ancient road. The additional distance of about two miles is more than compensated for by avoiding the ferries, especially for wheeled vehicles. Pedestrians, however, still, occasionally, use the ancient road. The landowners are obliged, very unwillingly, to maintain the ferry boats, though the passengers are extremely few in number. This ancient road is evidently of later date than the entrenchments, which it intersects without any appearance of an outwork to defend the entrance.

English Bicknor.—We will now turn to the other entrenchment which we propose to notice. This is situate about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles distant from Symond's Yat, on the east. It is a regular moated mound of the 8th or 9th century, and, therefore, a work much later in date than that above described. It consists of a conical flat-topped mound, or motte, which was originally surrounded by a ditch, but this is now filled up, except on the western side where it is of considerable depth. The motte stands on a horse-shoe-shaped platform, also surrounded by a ditch which is connected with the ditch of the mound. Beyond this, again, extending to the north and east, is a second, and larger, platform, also defended by a deep ditch, which, as well as the former, unites with that of the inner platform and of the motte. It is usual with earthworks of this type to find the parish church near, and in this case it stands on the outer platform. Such we consider to have been

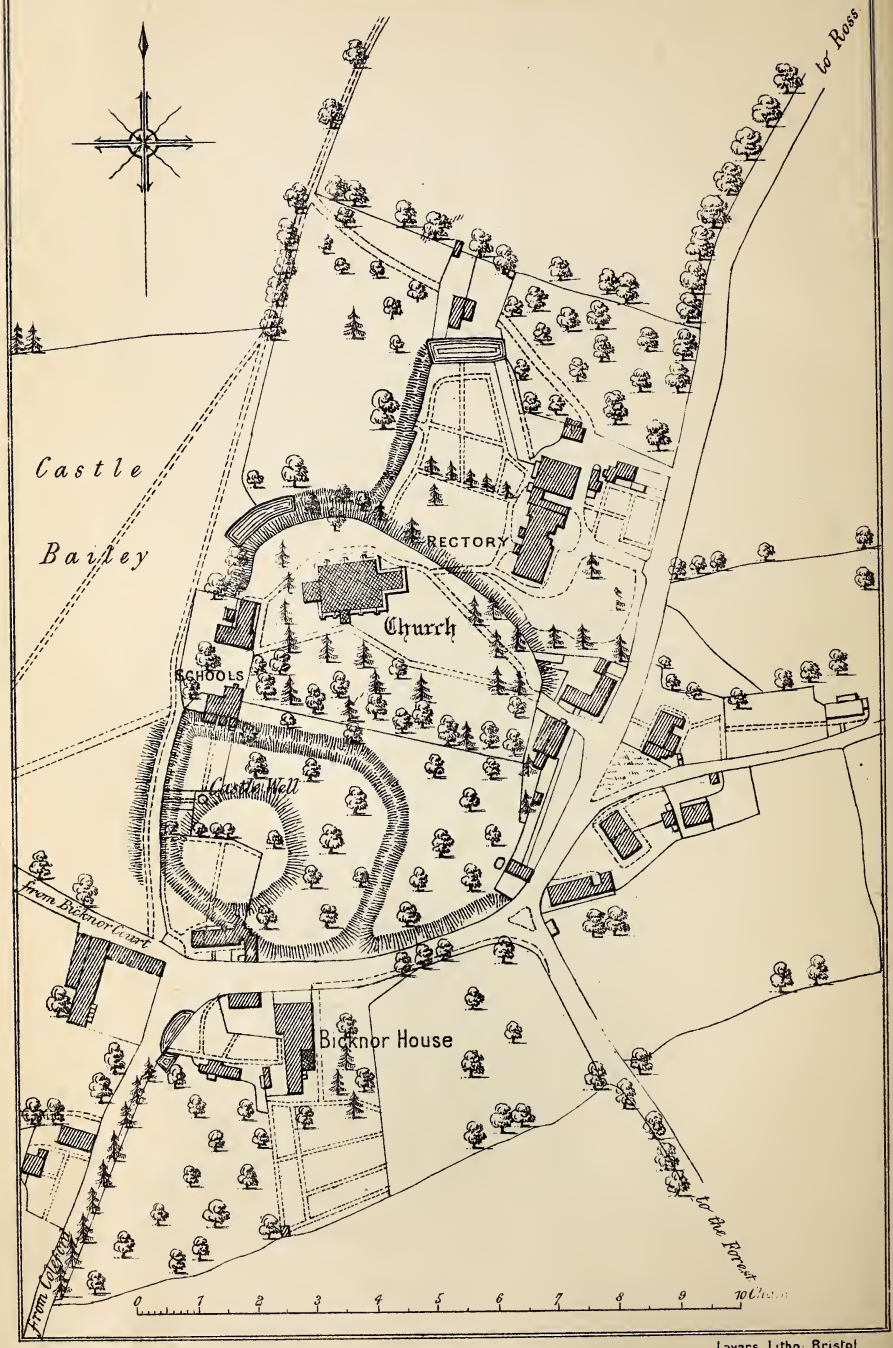
[1] Until the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were only two bridges over the Wye throughout the counties of Hereford and Gloucester, from Hay to Chepstow, one at Hereford and the other at Monmouth. Wilton Bridge, near Ross, was not built until about 1600. The Act of Parliament for its construction is dated 39th Elizabeth, Cap. 24.

the original character of the work. It forms an irregular circle about 150 yards in diameter. It is evident, however, that after the Norman Conquest the site was utilised by a Norman Baron, who erected a small stone-built castle, or keep, upon the mound. When, about 4 years ago, certain excavations were made into the side of the mound for the purpose of filling the ditch to make a garden for the schoolmaster, a small room, about 12 feet square, was discovered, constructed of Norman masonry. It was nearly all removed before the writer saw it, but he succeeded in preserving a small piece, which may still be seen. At the time this walled castle was erected a further addition was made to the fortification by the formation of a quadrilateral enclosure, or barbican, on the north side, by means of a deep ditch. This now forms the site of the parsonage-house, garden, and grounds. The field on the west side is known as the "Castle Bailey," another indication of the Norman adoption of the work.

Making a circuit of the entrenchment, and beginning on the western side of the mound, we find the ditch of considerable depth, and in it, at the foot of the mound, still remains the castle well, supplied by a never failing spring. On this side, external to the ditch, is a continuous bank, but it never was defended by a moat. Possibly this may have been intended for the security of the well, but we fail to see how it could have been effective. Around the mound the ditch would seem to have been obliterated by the *debris* of the castle, which had for centuries formed a quarry for the neighbourhood, and was possibly used for the same purpose in the erection of the existing church. The second ditch, throughout its entire length, is very distinct. Passing the end of this by the school premises, the bank has been, to a considerable extent, levelled down and the ditch filled. Within the recollection of persons now living, there was a wooden bridge by which people passed over the ditch to and from the church, and there was also a similar bridge crossing the ditch between the churchyard and the parsonage. Beyond the school-house is a portion of the ditch still open and filled with water, but its course farther followed the churchyard fence through the rectory grounds to the Lich-gate on

Plate IX.

Plan of Earthworks at ENGLISH BICKNOR.



Lavars, Litho, Bristol

the east side of the churchyard but it has been filled in recent times. From the Lich-gate the ditch has been destroyed, and the site is occupied by a cottage and garden, and for a part of the distance by the highway, but the bank inside the ditch may be traced, bordering on the road, as far as the cottage now used as the Post Office. This portion was open and filled with water, until recently; a person, now living, aged about 70 years, remembers falling into it when a boy and being nearly drowned. From the back of the Post Office the ditch may be traced to the well where we began our circuit.

On the north side the ditch of the barbican branches off nearly at right angles, following the fence of the western side of the rectory garden. This portion was, to a considerable extent, filled up during the incumbency of the late rector. At the north-west corner of the garden the ditch turns at nearly right angles towards the east, and this portion, which is 15 feet wide, is always full of water. We now lose all trace of it. After extending a short distance eastward, it, doubtless, turned again southward, before the front of the parsonage-house, uniting with the older ditch near the Lich-gate before mentioned (*See Plan*, *Plate* IX.)

We will now proceed to consider the period when, and the purpose for which, these ancient earthworks were constructed. Fosbroke calls that at Symond's Yat *Roman*, but it would seem to us that a glance at its form on the plan will dispel any idea of its being of Roman construction. Moreover, we have never been able to discover that anything has been found, in the nature of Roman coins or other remains, to shew that the place, like many other British fortresses, was ever occupied by the Roman legions. That they occupied the fortifications on the top of the "Coppet hill," immediately on the east of the camp, on the further side of the river, is indisputable. Many coins and other Roman antiquities have been there discovered. It was there that the very curious bronze dodecagon was found, which we had the pleasure of exhibiting in the Museum of the Society at Bristol in 1878, of which an illustration is given in the third volume of the Transactions of the Society. On the Little Dowart also, on the south-west

side of the river at Symond's Yat, Roman coins have been found. Fosbroke says, there is here a tripple circular British camp, but this description is inexact. The entrenchment is an oval, whose axis lies north east and south-west, and it has only a single vallum following the form of the platform of the hill, except at the north-west end, where there is an outwork. At the opposite end there is a quadrangular enclosure, which is probably a Roman addition. Even though the Romans may have occupied the entrenchments on the Coppet hill and the Little Dowart there can be no doubt that they were previously British works like those on the Great Dowart and Symond's Yat. Upon the Great Dowart there is a circular entrenchment about 160 feet in diameter. The fortifications at Symond's Yat were undoubtedly raised to resist the crossing of the Wye by an advancing enemy, and it seems to us to have been admirably placed for such a purpose. On the loop of the river, which we have before described as branching off from the Yat, there are now no fewer than six fordable places, indeed the river here is at present particularly weak as a defensive boundary, whatever it may have been 1500 years ago. Besides the fords we have mentioned, there are two others in the river within a mile upwards from the Yat, and an equal number, within the same distance below. Opposite the lower one, on the Gloucestershire side, on the rise of the hill, is a place called "the slaughter"—signifying a battle. The name probably arose from the defeat, or destruction, of a British force which had crossed the Wye at this ford for an hostile purpose.

The former three of the works above-mentioned are doubtless of very great antiquity. The addition to the camp at Little Dowart shews the original entrenchment to have been pre-Roman, and it is possible that they may all reach back to a period before our ancestors had emerged from a semi-savage condition. This must have been very long before the Roman invasion, 54 B.C., for Cæsar speaks of the Britons as possessing a degree of civilization indicating several centuries of organized government, and Strabo bears witness to their commercial enterprise. We do not, however, attribute the Symond's Yat works to so remote a period. The

Britons, as savages, could not, we conceive, have possessed any higher degree of social organization than patriarchal or tribal, and in such a condition we doubt if any tribe would be likely to raise so formidable a defence against a sept like itself. The Yat defences, from the great labour bestowed upon them and their strategetical character, would seem to shew in their constructors more of a national than tribal organization, and that, being open at the back, their object was to defend the peninsula and prevent the crossing of the Wye by a potent advancing enemy.

Who then, is it probable, were the people, whose advance the fortification at Symond's Yat was designed to check? Were they the Romans? We think not. We are not aware of any determined resistance being made to the Roman arms in this district. The Silurians were more easily subdued and romanized than their more northern countrymen. Moreover, the operations against them were conducted by a direct communication across the Severn to Caerwent, so that the fortress under consideration would have been taken in the rear. We conclude, therefore, that it must have been against the Saxon invaders that it was intended to be a defence.

The history of the Saxon Conquest of the district lying between the Severn and the Wye, south of Gloucester, is buried in obscurity; and even the date at which it occurred is only vaguely conjectured. According to Welsh legends, as early as 577, when Ceawlin conquered the east side of the Severn Valley, he also extended his power to the banks of the Wye.[1] Mr. Kerslake considers it probable that this occurred on Ceawlin's second expedition seven years later. This difference of date does not much affect our enquiry, though, probably, the later is more likely to be correct, and, possibly, it was in anticipation of this advance, and to check the further progress of the invaders, that the fortifications under review were raised. The Britons were driven across the river and the Forest district was, probably, re-peopled by a West-Saxon settlement, for the fact of such a settlement is shewn, we think, by the common speech of the district. By this conquest, the

[1] Trans. III., 109.

area now lying between the Severn and the Wye was added to the sub-kingdom of Wiccia, under the government of the West Saxon monarch. The arrangement, however, did not continue long, for we learn from the Saxon Chronicle that in 628 Cynegils and Cuichelm, joint Kings of Wessex, fought against Penda, King of Mercia, at Cirencester, and then made a treaty.[1] By this treaty a portion of Wiccia was ceded to Mercia. Whether or not the Forest district was embraced in this surrender we are unable to say, nor does it much matter, for 50 years later, in the reign of Offa, the whole of Wiccia had become subject to Mercia.

It is stated in the Chronicle of the Princes of Wales that in a certain summer, (the year not very clearly understood), the men of South Wales devastated the territory of Offa, and Offa caused a dyke to be made as a boundary between him and Wales, to enable him the more easily to withstand the attack of his enemies, and that is called Offa's dyke from that time to this day; and it extends from one sea to the other, from the south, near Bristol, towards the north above Flint, between the monastery of Basingwerk and Coleshill.[2]

It has been suggested by Fosbroke as possible that the Earthworks at Symond's Yat may have had some connection with Offa's dyke. Without entering upon the question of the course of Offa's dyke in this district, which we may deal with on a future occasion, we may here remark that the dyke, though not intended for a fortification, had for its object the prevention of the incursions of the Welsh, whereas the earthworks at the Yat are obviously intended for a directly opposite purpose, and are, moreover, we conceive, much earlier than the time of Offa.

We shall now return to the Norman Castle of Bicknor, and shall endeavour to trace the history of the manor during Norman times. Its early devolution is somewhat obscure.

William Fitz Norman held Bicanofre and Dene at the time of the Domesday Survey, and the former from him passed to Ulric de Dene.[3] In our notice of the Manor of English Bicknor (Trans.,

[1] Anglo-Sax. Chron. Mon. Hist. Brit., p. 309.

[2] Brut y Tywysogion. Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 843.

[3] Hugh, son of William Fitz Norman, rendered an account of the taxes (*Censu*) for the Forest of Dene, in 31st Henry I. (Pipe Roll.)

Vol. I., p. 70.) it was with considerable hesitation we accepted the identity of Bicanofre with Bicknor, as claimed by Atkyns. Further researches, have, however, led us to think that Atkyns was right. In the article referred to, we stated that we were not able to recognise in Testa de Nevil the name of Bicknor, or Bicanofre, in the Hundred of Westbury (under which it appears in Domesday), but we have since discovered, under the Hundred of Cheltenham, the name of "Bykenture." *In villa Bykenture ix. Carucatæ.* As this name stands between the names of St. Briavel's and Staunton, and as, afterwards, under the same head appears Dene and Abenhall, we see no reason to doubt that Bicknor was intended.[1] Probably the names of the manors got misplaced in making up the record. It is not shewn, however, by whom the Manor called Bykenture was held, hence we have no assistance in the name of the tenant in the identification of the place.

Early in the 12th century Bicknor had fallen in the hands of King Henry I., who, by his charter, granted "to Milo, my Constable of Gloucester, in fee and inheritance, the land in Bickenouer which belonged to Ulric de Dene. (post, page 318). This charter is undated, but among the names of the witnesses is that of "Geoffry the Chancellor," who was made Bishop of Durham in 1133, and as Walter, Milo's father, was Constable of Gloucester as late as 1120, the charter must have been made between those dates.

The frightful disorders which prevailed in this country during the reign of Stephen are notorious. Every Baron built a castle where he would upon his own manors,[2] and filled it either with his own vassals or with licentious foreign mercenaries. Besides the public war the barons quarrelled among themselves and made war upon each other. The soldiery preyed upon the people and England became one scene of violence, dissolation, and blood. There were no fewer than 1115 such castles built in England between the accession of Stephen in 1136, and the compromise

[1] Testa de Nevill, p. 79.

[2] They acted like petty Sovereigns, each within his own domains, setting up mints and coining their own money, lighter and more debased than the debased regal money of the period.—(*See Rashleigh, Numismatic Chronicle*, 1850, *p.* 181.)

with Prince Henry in 1153, a period of 17 years. We believe that Bicknor Castle was one of these. We are told by Roger of Wendover that Henry II., "as soon as he was made king began to resume the possession of the castles, cities, and towns which belonged to the crown, to destroy the rebellious castles and to depose the pseudo earls."[1] Accordingly, most of the adulterine castles, as they were called, were destroyed in the first year of Henry II. (1154.)

Milo de Gloucester, to whom we have seen a grant of the land of Bichenouer (Bicknor) was made by Henry I. in the latter end of his reign, was, we know, like his father, a great castle builder; and we think it exceedingly probable that during the troubles in Stephen's reign, in which he took a very active part, he erected the Castle of Bicknor. Maud, in 1139, granted to him the Castle of St. Briavel's and the whole Forest of Dene, and in 1141, upon obtaining a temporary ascendency over Stephen, created him Earl of Hereford; but, upon the ultimate failure of the cause of the empress doubtless neither the dignity nor the grant of the forest were recognised by Stephen. Milo died in 1143, and Henry II., upon his accession, found the Forest of Dean and the Castle of St. Briavel's in possession of the crown. Henry confirmed to Roger, Milo's eldest son, the Earldom of Hereford, which had been granted to Milo by Maud, but upon Roger's death,[2] soon afterwards, he would not allow Roger's brothers to succeed to the dignity. The king also, by charter, granted to Roger all the lands between the Severn and the Wye, which King Henry, his grandfather had held, except the Forest of Dean, the Castle of St. Briavel's, and the Town of Newnham. It would, therefore, seem to be very probable that Bicknor Castle was built by Milo de Gloucester and destroyed in 1154 by King Henry II.

There is, however, one further point for consideration. In one instance only do we find any mention in the Public Records of a Castle at Bicknor, and that is nearly a century later than the date

[1] Vol. II., p. 523.

[2] Roger, Earl of Hereford, was alive on 29th Sept., 1155, when he witnessed the charter of the king to the Abbey of Shrewsbury (Itin. Hen. II., p. 12), but we do not find him mentioned afterwards.

of its supposed destruction. How these lands passed from Roger, Earl of Hereford, to Ralph Avenel, we, at present, know not, but in 1191, Ralph owed the king (Richard I.) one hundred shillings and eleven marks for the land of Bickenowre, and liberty to marry whom he pleased;[1] and on the 22nd Nov., 1223, William Avenel made fine with the King, Henry III., in 40 marks, to have the lands of his father, Ralph Avenel, which he held *in capite* with the Balliwick and *Castle* of Bicknoure.[2] Whether the castle was in a defensive state at this date or whether it had been slighted and the site and ruins only remained there is nothing to shew. If the former, it must have been destroyed in the war between Richard Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke and King Henry III., which broke out in 1233 under the ministry of Peter de la Roche, Bishop of Winchester, after the fall of de Burgh. Of the details of this campaign we possess too little information, but the contest was very severe in this district. In any case the existence of the castle must have been very brief.

Upon the death of William Avenel, in the 20th Henry III. (1236), an inquisition was taken of how much land he held of the king in the Forest of Dene, by what service, how much it was worth by the year, and who was next heir. The jurors, among whom we find the name of William de Dene, found that he was seized of two carucates of land in Bickenore, and that it was worth in rents, villanages, and other issues, £23 6s. 1d. per annum, and that Dulcia his daughter, was his next heir[3] On the 24th May, in the same year, we find Robert de Muscegros made fine with the king in 200 marks for having custody of the lands which were William Avenel's until the full age of the daughter and heir of the said William, and to have the marriage of the said heir; and a writ was issued to the Constable of St. Briavel's to give seizin.[4]

There now arises a perplexing difficulty as to the descent of the manor. The next tenant of whom we have any knowledge

[1] Rot. Pip., 2nd Richard I. [2] Rot. Fin., 8th Henry III.
[3] Inq. p. m., 20th Hen. III. No. 11.
[4] Rot. Fin., 20th Hen. III., m. 9.

was Cecilia de Muscegros, who died, in 1301, seized of the manors of Bykenore, Langford, Teinton, &c., in co. Gloucester, and the question is, was this Cecilia and the above-mentioned Dulcia identical. Cecilia was the heir of a William Avenel, and as far as the descent of the Manor of Bicknor and the history of the castle are concerned it is not very material; nevertheless, as the question is of no small interest we offer a few points for consideration in an appendix to this notice.

In writing our previous paper on the Manor of Bicknor (Trans. Vol. I., 69) we were under the impression that Cecilia was a second wife of Robert de Muchegros, but it appears from an entry in the Close Roll, 3rd Edw. I., that she was the wife of John, his son. She died in 1301, as above stated, and in the inquisition, taken after her death, it was found that, *inter alia*, on the said Manor of Bykenore there was a capital messuage, with easements, houses, and curtlages of the value of 12d. per annum, and that Hawysia, wife of John de Ferrers, was her nearest heir, upon whose death, in 1350, the said messuage was returned as being worth, with appurtenances, 6d. per annum, and that John de Ferrers, aged 19 years, was her nearest heir. He died in 1367, when, the jurors say, "there is one messuage which is of no value," and subsequently it was always described as a site worth nothing.

APPENDIX.

FAMILY OF AVENEL.

THIS family was seated at "Bois Avenel," in Landelles, near Biards-in-Manche. The "Chronique de Normandie" names among the companions of the Conqueror, the "Sire de Biars, and . . . Avenel de Biars." William Avenel, Seigneur des Biards, and his three sons, Rolland, Nicholas, and Oliver, are named in a charter dated cir. 1158.[1] Rolland married Havis de Pariquy. Oliver married Petronilla de la Cheze, in 1228, and had a son named Oliver. William Avenel de Biart paid 16s. 8d. scutage in 1162.[2] A William Avenel is mentioned as a Baron of England, in the time of King John.[3] The Avenels became Barons of the Marches of Scotland, where they held Eskdale.

We find the name widely spread in England at a very early date, but we shall, on the present occasion, confine our attention to those who held Bicknor and other lands in Gloucestershire.

We first meet with the name in the county of Gloucester in 1167, when Robert Avenel rendered an account of one mark, and the same was paid into the treasury; and the same year the sheriff accounted for a like sum for two virgates of land which Ralph Avenel held in Sandhurst.[4] The land continued to be held by Ralph Avenel until 1174,[5] when he would seem to have ceased to hold it, though the rent was accounted for in his name until the end of the king's reign (1189), and we have not had an opportunity of pursuing the search further. It would appear not unlikely

[1] Cart. de Savigny, at St. Lo. [2] Rot. Pip., 8th Henry II. m. 1., dor.

[3] Black Book of the Exchequer. The Avenels appear in the Extinct Peerages under the name of Avranches, or Abrinces. The last Baron of the name died before 1235, s.p. Maud, his sister and heir, married Hamon Crevequer.

[4] Rot. Pip., 13th Henry II [5] Ibid., 20th Henry II.

that the above-mentioned Robert was the father of Ralph, and, probably, Ralph was the father of another Ralph, who acquired the Manor and Castle of Bicknor, for seizin of which, and for liberty to marry whom he pleased, he, in 1190-1, paid the king a fine of 100s. and 11 marks.[1] On the 22nd Nov., 1223, William Avenel made fine with the king in 40 marks, to have the lands of his father, Ralph Avenel,[2] which, with the bailliwick and *Castle* of Bickenore, he held *in capite*, as his inheritance.[3] William Avenel died in 1236. The *writ diem clausit extremum* was tested on 5th May in that year, and it was found upon inquisition made thereupon, that he held two carucates of land in Bickenore, and that the land was worth in rents, villanages, and other issues, £23 6s. 1d. per annum. and further that *Dulcia*, his daughter, was his next heir.[4] In the same year, upon security being given for the payment of 200 marks by Robert de Muscegros, in certain instalments, the king granted to the said Robert the custody of the lands and marriage of the heir of the said William Avenel, with the proviso that should the said heir die, any unpaid instalment should not be claimed.[5]

[1] Rot. Pip., 2nd Richard I. A Ralph Avenel held lands in Gloucestershire by Serjeanty. (Testa de Nevil, pp. 77 and 78.) In 1176 a Ralph Avenel was in mercy for a breach of the Forest laws in Gloucestershire, and suffered a fine of 20 marks and a war-horse. Three years afterwards he rendered the horse and was freed of the money by the king's writ. Rot. Pip. 22nd and 25th Henry II.

[2] Ralph Avenel was a benefactor to the Abbey of St. Peter's at Gloucester.

[3] Rot. Fin., 8th Hen. III.

Nicholas Avenel was Sheriff of Gloucester as deputy of William Mareschal in the 4th and 5th years of Richard I., as he was again in the 1st and 2nd years of John. Rot. Pip. of those years.

In 1224 a precept was issued to Roger de Clifford, at that time Constable of St. Briavel's Castle, diligently to enquire, by just and loyal men of the view of Bicknor and of the bailliwick of Dean Forest, if Ralfe Avenel, in the time of King John, broke down the pool of the King at Culverham by the desire of the king or without his consent, and that if, upon inquisition, it was found that the said pool was broken down by the said Ralph without the consent of the king, he should take security from William son and heir of the said Ralph that he should make again that pool, and cause him to be admonished. Rot. Claus., 8th Hen. III., m. 1.

The field called Culverham is now well-known.

[4] Inq., p. m., 20th Henry III. No. 11. [5] Rot. Fin., 20th Henry III.

The above statements are very clear and definite, and shew that Ralph was the father of William, and that Dulcia was the daughter and heir of the latter, nevertheless we find that the following records confuse this clear statement, and shew that, as is too frequently the case, owing to the carelessness or ignorance of juries, errors in names occur in contemporary public documents.

On 4th July, 1236, the Sheriff of Gloucester was commanded to seize into the king's hands the land held by Margaret Avenel in dower in Tynton (Teinton) and Langeford, of the gift of *Nicholas* Avenel her late husband, which he held of the king *in capite* by knights' service, Margaret being now dead, as *Dulcia*, daughter and heir of William, son and heir of *Nicholas*, whose wardship pertains to the king, is under age, and is in the king's custody; notwithstanding that Arnold de Bosco maintains himself in Tynton, and Henry son of Nicholas, in Langeford, as their fees; whereupon the sheriff was commanded to take the lands into the king's hands and deliver them to Robert de Muscegros, to whom the king had granted the custody of *Nicholas's* land and heir.[1]

The name *Nicholas* is, in this record, erroneously written for *Ralph*, as is shewn by the following documents, which, in this particular, confirm the previous records.

The first is a precept of the king, directed on 17th August in the same year (1236), to the Sheriff of Gloucester, and stating that: Roger de Lokinton had placed himself upon an inquisition whether Margaret Avenel held the land in Langford, whereof he and Petronilla, his wife, were disseized by the king's command (which land Margaret gave Roger with Petronilla her daughter), in marriage, or in dower by the gift of Ralf Avenel, her late husband, as the king had heard: thereupon the king orders the Sheriff, notwithstanding the land was taken into the king's hand because it was believed to be the right of William Avenal's heir, who is in the king's custody, to cause Roger to have seizin thereof and then enquire into Margaret's title.[2] Accordingly an inquisition was taken, and it was found by a jury that Margaret Avenel

[1] Rot. Claus, 20th Henry III., m. 6.

[2] Rot. Claus, 20th Henry III. m. 5.

held in marriage, and not in dower by the gift of her late husband, Ralph Avenel, the sixth part of one knight's fee in Langeford, which she gave in marriage with her daughter to Roger de Lokinton; the king therefore commanded the Sheriff of Gloucester to give Roger and his wife seizin of the same. Tested 8th October, 1236.[1] Two days afterwards the king, understanding that a jury had found that Margaret Avenel held her land in Compton in dower of the inheritance of the daughter and heir of William Avenel, in the custody of Robert de Muscegros for a fine made with the king, commanded W. Elect of Worcester,[2] to give the said Robert seizin.[3]

In these three last cited records the name of William Avenel's daughter and heir is not given, and it is remarkable that she appears under another name in the following plea, nevertheless, her identity with Dulcia would seem to be sufficiently established.[4] In 1239 an agreement was entered into, before the Justices Itinerant, bewteen Cecilia Avenel, petitioner, and Roger Lokinton and Petronilla his wife, tenants, concerning $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides of land, except 16 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow, in Langford, whereof a plea was between them in the court: viz., that the aforesaid Roger and Petronilla recognised the aforesaid $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides of land, except as before excepted, as the right of Cecilia, and quit-claimed the same for themselves and the heirs of the said Petronilla for ever, and for this remise and quit-claim Robert de Muscegros, custodian of the aforesaid Cecilia and her lands, granted the aforesaid $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, except as before excepted, to the said Roger and Petronilla for the term of 8 years next following the feast of St. Michael, Anno 23rd of the then king, at the annual rent of 8s. 4d.; and it was provided that the said Roger and Petronilla should not make any waste of the issues of the houses, or men, or any other thing of the said land and appurtenances, and that at the end of the said term the said Roger and Petronilla should yield up to the said

[1] Rot. Claus, 20th Henry III., m. 5.

[2] Walter de Cantelupe made Bishop of Worcester in this year.

[3] Rot. Claus, 20th Henry III., m. 1.

[4] It is not unlikely that *Dulcia* was a pet name given to her in childhood.

Cecilia all the said land without contradiction; and that if the said Cecilia should die without heirs of her body, all the said land should revert to the heirs of the said Cecilia, and the said Petronilla should not make any claim for the same.[1]

Cecilia Avenel was given by Robert de Muscegros in marriage to his son and heir, John de Muscegros, who died 1274-5, seized of one knight's fee in Kenemerton and the other lands of his own inheritance, the whole of which, of course, were taken into the king's hands, and together with them Compton Parva, Langford, and other possessions of his wife, Cecilia, but we do not find Bicknor mentioned in the inquisition;[2] nevertheless, upon a complaint made by Cecilia, a mandate was issued to the escheator for Gloucestershire to enquire, by a jury of honest and legal men of his bailliwick, whether the manors of Bykenore, Teynton, Langford, Compton, and Brusarton, which had been seized into the king's hands upon the death of the said John de Muscegros, were the lands of inheritance of the said John, or of Cecilia his wife, and if, upon enquiry, it were found that these lands were of the inheritance of the aforesaid Cecilia and not of the said John sometime her husband, seizin of the same was directed to be given to her.[3] Neither the inquisition upon this writ, nor those following upon the writs before cited, are now extant, but there can be no doubt that Cecilia de Muscegros recovered possession of her estates, for she thereof died seized in 1301, when Hawysia, wife of John de Ferrers, daughter of Robert de Muscegros, and granddaughter of the said Cecilia, was found to be her next heir and to be aged 25 years.[4] (see ante p. 312)

[1] De Banco Roll, 23rd Henry III. No. 9. m. 4, dor.

It would seem to be uncertain whether Petronilla was the daughter of Ralph Avenel, or the daughter of Margaret by a former husband. If the former, she would have been aunt to Cecilia, but probably the latter was the case.

[2] Inq. p. m., 3rd Edward I. No. 23. [3] Rot. Claus, 3rd Edward I., m. 15. [4] Inq., p.m. 29th Edward I. No. 29 b.

The following PEDIGREE shews the descent of Avenel in Gloucestershire.

Robert Avenel paid one mark in co. Gloucester, 1167. Rot. Pip. 13th Hen. II.

Ralph Avenel held land at Sandhurst, co. Glouc., 1167–1174 (? ob. 1166.)

RALPH AVENEL had seizin of the Manor and Castle of Bicknor, 1190. Rot. Pip. 2nd Richard I. = Margaret, daughter of ..... survived her husband, but dead 1236. Rot. Claus., 20th Hen. III.

WILLIAM AVENEL had livery of seizin of the Manor and Castle of Bicknor, 1223, Rot. Fin. 8th Hen. III., ob. 1236. Inq. p.m., 20th Hen. III. No. 11.

Petronilla = Roger de Lokinton.

Robert de Muscegros, had wardship, in 1236, of the dau. and heir of William Avenel, died 1252. Inq. p.m., 3rd Henry III. No. 39. = Helewisia sister and co.-heir of Wm Malet, Baron of Cory Malet, and relict of Hugh Poyntz Rot. Fin. 5th Henry III., 1221.

DULCIA, or CECILIA, dau. and heir, a minor on her father's death, ob. 1301. Inq. p.m. 29th Edward I. No. 29 b. = John de Muscegros, aged 21 years, 10th Aug., 37th Hen. III. (1251) died 1276. Inq. p.m., 3rd Edward I. No. 23.

Robert de Muscegros, son and heir, aged 23 years, 1276, ob. 1283, Inq. p.m. 9th Edward. I. No. 24. = Agnes, da. of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby.

John Lord Ferrers, of Chartley, son and heir of Robert 8th and last Earl of Derby, Summ. to Parl., from 1299 to 1311 Died 1324. = HAWISIA dau. and heir aged 4 yrs. 21 Dec., 1280, held Manor of Bicknor as heir of her grandmother Cecilia de Muscegros, died before 24th Edw. III. [1350]. = JOHN DE BURES, 2nd husb. Held Manor of Bicknor in right of Hawisia his wife, ob. Wed. in the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 1350. Inq. p.m., 24th Edw. III. No. 101.

See ante, Vol I., p. 88, *for continuation.*

Those whose names are printed in Small Capitals held the manor of Bicknor.

Arms.

In the British Museum (Harl. MS. 1047) is an achievement of Arms, consisting of 94 quarterings, assigned to Lord Strafford. Among them, brought in by Ferrers, are (81) *Gules, a lion rampant, guardant or, over all a label of five points, az.* (for Muscegros) and (82) *Gules, a fess between six annulets ar.* (for Avenel).

(*Grant of the Manor of Bicknor by Henry I. to Milo de Gloucester.*

Henricus rex Angliæ Episcopo Herefordensi et Justiciariis et vice-comitibus et omnibus Baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et Anglis de GloucestreScira et HerefortScira salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Miloni Gloucestriæ Conestabulo meo in feodum et hereditatem terram de Bichenouero que fuit Vlurici de Dena. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio quod ipse eam teneat iure hereditario in bosco et plano in omnibus rebus cum Soca et Saca et Tol et Team et Infangeneteof et cum Omnibus Consuetudinibus et libertatibus et quietationibus cum quibus ipse melius et quietius et honorabilius et liberius tenet aliud feodum suum. Testibus Galfrido Cancellario et R. de Sigillo et P. filio iohannis et E. filio iohannis et Willelmo filio iohannis Willelmo de alb' brit', apud cantebrigiam.

(Seal in white wax nearly perfect.)

Endorsed in a much later hand—Carta Henrici Regis magni facta Miloni Gloucestriæ de Manerio de Bichenouero..

PENPARK HOLE, A ROMAN LEAD MINE.

By F. J. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.

Read at Bristol, 27th January, 1879.

OUR aim in this paper is to add another item to the rapidly accumulating evidences which, concurrently, point to Bristol as the site of a settlement, and a place for the shipment of exports, in the time of the Romans.

The hill upon which the city is built is in form a peninsula, at the confluence of the rivers Avon and Frome. The Avon is the most southernly, and by far the larger river, and before 1373 it separated Somerset from Gloucestershire. The Frome flows on the north side of the hill. Rising in the Cotswolds it has a rapid descent, in a south-westernly direction, to its junction with the Avon, the latter portion of its course being through Bristol. This river, the Frome, was in Roman times crossed, most certainly, by the 14th iter of Antonine, which extended from Aqua Solis to Caerwent. However much antiquaries have differed as to certain parts of this iter, they all agree in placing it so that it must have crossed the Frome near to Wades, or Traitor's Bridge, in modern Bristol, and about three-quarters of a mile N.E. of the ancient walled burgh.

The Ridgeway, another Roman road running south from Gloucester, passed within half a mile of Penpark Hole, and it intersected Antonines road, as far as we can judge, about the top of Stoke's Croft. The distance from the point of intersection along the iter to Traitor's bridge would be less than 840 yards The two roads, the 14th iter and the Ridgeway, pass near to two Cold Harbours and a Silver Street, both names being certain marks of Roman occupation.

Now, in the muddy bottom of the bank of the river Frome, close to Traitor's Bridge, there were found, some years since, two pigs of lead, weighing, respectively, 76lbs. and 89lbs., bearing the

inscription : IMP. CAES. AN - - NINI. AUG. PII. PP.. This gives us the date as between A.D. 139 and A.D. 161.[1]

We must remember that until the year 1809 the Frome was a tidal river; the average rise of an ordinary tide would be about 10 feet, and considerably more at Spring tides, and on its soft muddy bottom the Roman galleys could securely lie at low water, whilst at high tide their decks would be level with, or even higher than, the land.

The following questions naturally arise : 1st. How came these heavy pigs of undoubtedly Roman lead in the bed of the river Frome ? And 2nd. Whence were they brought ? Our answer to the first of these questions is : They must have been dropped in by accident, when about to be shipped, in being passed along the plank from the shore to the ship, just as now, occasionally, we find blocks of spelter fall into our harbour which have to be recovered by a diver. These pigs were too heavy to be thrown in from the bank, and we can conceive of none other manner by which they could have found their way to the bed in which they had reposed for at least 15 or 16 centuries, than that which is above suggested. The next consideration is this : Whence did this lead come ? We know that the Romans mined lead upon the Mendip Hills. In July, 1876, amongst the old washings at Charter House, there were two pigs of lead discovered; one weighed 143lbs., which had on it the name of Vespasian; the other weighed 2cwt. 2qrs. 16lbs., and was inscribed with the name of Titus as well as that of Vespasian ; another had previously been found, weighing 223lbs., inscribed with the name of Antonine. At Blagdon, a mining village on the north flank of Mendip, there was, some years since, found a pig of lead, inscribed with the name of Brittanicus, *i.e.* A.D. 49.

The Rev. Canon Scarth[2] thinks that Bristol was a lead depot in the Roman period, and that the produce of the Mendips was brought there to be shipped. We rather demur to this, inasmuch as there was the port of Adaxium, Brean Down, at the mouth of the river Axe, but a few miles distant, with a Roman road

[1] Archæological Journal, Vol. XXIII., p. 277.

[2] Journal of the British Archæological Association, June, 1875, p. 138.

communication, linking together the mines and stations on the hills.

It will be noted also that the pigs of lead found in Bristol are much smaller in size than those smelted on the Mendip Hills; and this fact may be allowed to have some little weight. But if this lead had been brought from the south, it is reasonable to suppose that it would have been shipped in the Avon, the larger and nearer river and one more suitable for shipment than the Frome. We can scarcely conceive that the carriers would, if they did not ship at Adaxium, when they reached Bristol pass another easy port of shipment, cross it in boats, for there is no sign of a bridge at so early a date, and carry their burden at least three-quarters of a a mile by land, or a mile and a quarter in boats, to ship it at a, confessedly, more difficult place and further inland than the river's brink at which they first touched. We conclude, therefore, that if this Bristol lead had been from the Mendip Hills it would have been shipped in the Avon, instead of being brought, by tortuous ways, whether by land or by water, to the spot where it was found.

But if this lead did not come out of Somerset, whence did it come? We answer, from Gloucestershire, and probably from Penpark Mine, which is about three and-a-half miles distant from the spot where these pigs were found, and which lies upon a Roman road, the Ridgeway, so that there would not be the slightest difficulty as to carriage; in fact this port on the Frome would be the nearest point for shipment of lead from Gloucestershire. But is Penpark a lead mine? Without doubt. It was examined in 1669 by Captain Sturmy (I presume the title is that given by miners to the superintendent of a mine, who is to this day called Captain) who describing his descent, says: "On the 2nd of July, 1669, I descended by ropes affixed at the top of an old lead ore pit, four fathoms, almost perpendicular, and from thence three fathoms, more obliquely, between two great rocks, where I found the mouth of this spacious place, from which a mine man and myself lowered ourselves by ropes 25 fathoms perpendicularly, into a very large place, which resembled

to us the form of a horseshoe; for we stuck lighted candles all the way we went, to discover what we could find remarkable. At length we came to a river, or great water, which I found to be 20 fathoms broad, and 8 fathoms deep. The mine was altogether about 220 feet deep. The mine man would have persuaded me that this river ebbed and flowed, for we found the water had sometimes risen 10 fathoms above its present height; but I proved to the contrary by staying there from three hours flood to two hours ebb, in which time we found no alteration in this river. Besides its waters are fresh, sweet, and cool, and the surface of the water, as it is now, at 8 fathoms deep, lies lower than the bottom of any part of the Severn Sea near us, so that it can have no communication with it. As we were walking by this river, 32 fathoms under the ground, we discovered a great hollowness in a rock some 8 feet above us; so that I got a ladder down to us, and the mine man went up the ladder to that place, and walked into it about 70 paces, till he had just lost sight of me, and from thence cheerfully called unto me, and told me he had found a rich mine, but his joy was presently turned into amazement, and he returned affrighted by the sight of an evil spirit, which we cannot persuade him but he saw, and for that reason will go thither no more." Neither, it seems, would the Captain who continues: "Here are abundance of strange places, the flooring being a kind of white stone, enamelled with *lead ore*, and the pendant rocks were glazed with saltpetre, which distilled upon them from above, and which time had petrified;" *i.e.*, Stalactites and Stalagmites, as is shewn by the Captain's sketch, published in Bristol, A.D. 1792.

Four days after his return, Captain Sturmy was troubled with an unusual and violent headache, which he imputed to his being in that vault, and falling into a fever, he died in a few days.

Thirteen years after this descent, being in 1682, another mining authority, Captain Collins, paid the mine a visit. He found the shaft to be 39 yards deep from the surface. "The mine spread into an oblong irregular figure, its greatest length being 75 yards, its greatest breadth 41 yards, from the roof to the water was 19

yards. The water was then (Sept., 1682) in a pool at the north end, which was the deepest part; it was 27 yards in length, 12 in breadth, and 5½ yards deep; there appeared two rocks above the water, all covered with mud, but the water was sweet and good. There was a large circle of mud round the pool and reaching up towards the south end, which shewed that the water had been sometimes 6 yards higher than it was then. The tunnel, or passage down, was somewhat oblique, very rugged, and rocky; in some places it was two yards wide, and in some three or four; but nothing observable therein, save here and there some of that spar that usually attends the mines of *lead ore*. In the way, 30 yards down, there runs in southward, a passage 29 yards in length, parallel to the surface above; it was two or three yards high, and commonly as broad and alike rocky as the tunnel, with some appearance of spar, but nothing else in it except a few bats. The large cavity, or mine, below, was also irregular and rocky; the air was pure. The corner," he says, "where the land-waters gather, is 59 yards from the surface of the earth." And differing from his predecessor, Captain Sturmy, he calculated the bottom of the mine to be about 20 yards above the highest tide in the Severn, from which, he says, it is equidistant with Bristol: viz., about three miles.

I find that between 1763 and 1768, the Rev. A. Catcott, whose father was the master of the Bristol Grammar School, and who, himself, was the vicar of Temple Church, and one of the fathers of geological science, although his views would now be pronounced absurd, visited Penpark, but did not, apparently, descend into the mine.

Mr. Catcott ascribed the Noachian deluge to a literal outburst of waters from an internal abyss, to which they afterwards retired by subterranean caverns and swallet holes.

I have his account in MS. of many caves and mines explored by him, among which are the following in our neighbourhood :—

"May 30th, 1775—Went to Almondsbury, in Gloucestershire (7 miles from Bristol), in company with Mr. Freeman, to view some lead works he was working. The vein had opened in many

places ; on the hill they found, frequently, small veins, or courses, as they called them, but the largest was not above 10 or 12 in. broad, this, too, mixed with spar and grit, could generally be traced about 20 yds. in length, as there were many of these on Almondsbury Hill and the parts adjoining, and these frequently not full, so it fully proves that there can be no veins here that are worth working. As these small veins were not full, so it follows that there was not a quantity of ore which settled in the body of the stone to fill them, and, of course, if there were larger veins they would not be full."

"The ore lay in perpendicular fissures, and though the veins were small they frequently had lesser branches running from them. I went down into one shaft on purpose to see *an old work* they had fallen upon; it doubtless was such, but when it was made was quite uncertain, and none of the oldest persons in the place could remember that ore had been dug there until lately."

"This pit lies within about 200 yards of the place where the Bristol road from Felton to Gloucester meets the road from Mr. Chester's house, and is dug on the left hand side of the former road as you come from Bristol."

"July 7th—Went to Henbury to view what is called Pope's work ; a man there, of that name, has discovered small veins of copper ore, the place is about half-a-mile from Henbury, towards the Severn, on a high hill. The ore lies in small perpendicular fissures about 1 or 2 inches wide.

"July 15th—Went to Mr. Harmer's, at Penpark, which lies about a mile-and-a-half from Westbury towards the north ; had just time to view the hole. It appears to be more than a swallow, there are several lesser near it, which are thought to lead into the greater. Propose to examine more accurately."

"November 15th—Examined a fissure about 130 yds. N.E. of Clifton Camp, 5 feet wide throughout its course, which is S.E. to N.W. in nearly a straight line. That it was dug formerly is evident from the hollow places in the ground, about 6 or 8 yards distant from one another, and the heaps that are thrown up on

each side of these hollow places. I daresay that this fissure runs under both Clifton and Durdham Down."

This must have been at Litfield [Leadfield Place], Clifton Down. Both Penpark Hole and Litfield, are, we believe, on the line where the limestone is masked by the lias, and it seems that at the point of junction lead is found.

There is little doubt but that the Rev. gentleman's description of Penpark Hole, in his Essay on the Deluge,had excited considerable interest, and stimulated the curiosity of the public ; and that it led to the following tragical occurrence :—

The Rev. Thomas Newman, one of the minor canons of Bristol Cathedral, son of Mr. Newman, the banker, went, after morning service, on March 17th, 1775, in company with two young ladies and a gentlemen to visit Penpark Hole. Mr. Newman, in trying to sound the depth with a string which he had purposely brought, went a little way down the inclined opening towards the mouth of the shaft in order to drop his line clear, trusting to a branch of an ash tree that grew over the mine and to which he clung with his left hand. The ground was wet and slippery, he lost his foothold, the ashen branch broke in his hand, he slid down the few feet of incline and fell over into the fearful pit. He was a man greatly respected, in the bloom of manhood, scarcely 26 years of age, and to add to the tragic interest surrounding the accident, he had that morning read, as part of the day's service in Clifton Church, David's reference in the 88th Psalm to his own troubles, "I am counted as one of them that go down to the pit. . . ; who are cut away from thy hand. . . . Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit, in a place of darkness, and in the deep, . My lovers and friends hast thou put far from me ; and hid my acquaintance out of my sight." The coincidence was certainly very striking, and curiosity brought, daily, for some weeks a large concourse of persons to the spot to view the attempts that were being made to recover the body, many of whom descended, rather to view the gloomy cavern than to aid, practically, in the search. Amongst these visitors was Mr. George Catcott, brother

to the gentlemen previously named, a man who aimed at eccentricity, who had been the friend and patron of Chatterton in a small way, the partner of Burgum, and who was then the Librarian of the City Library. He descended twice, once on Monday, March 20th, 1775, and again on Easter Monday, April 17th, eight days before the body of Mr. Newman was found. It had, probably, been swept into one of the lateral tunnels, out of which it could only float when the spring land floods had abated. To Mr. Catcott, and chiefly to Mr. White who descended several times, the last being in the autumn of 1776, we are indebted for a plan of the place, and for a minute description and somewhat bombastical account of the perils he encountered, or rather dreaded.

From his narrative, divested of its extravagant verbiage, we see plainly that it was a mine which had been freely worked, its shaft opened to the surface, close to the ash tree before mentioned, but 120ft. to the east was another opening, 49ft. deep, which led into a working 42 feet in length and 14 feet in width. At the extreme western end of this, another descending tunnel, with a gradual slope, ran about 90 feet westward, until it opened into the main shaft. Now, not only have several main lodes, apparently, been followed here, but smaller veins of ore have been worked, which Catcott describes as small tunnels running upwards amongst the rocks. Thirty feet from the surface is a tunnel, which is from 8 to 10ft. high and 30ft. in length; also another to the westward, which, about 60 feet in, was choked up by a fall from the roof. The shaft thence descends perpendicularly for between 30 and 40 feet, to an incline formed, apparently, by the refuse of the workings from the tunnels and large stones of a ton weight that had fallen from the roof and sides. The west tunnel is 78 feet long by 16 broad, and at the entrance, 20 feet high, which decreases until it terminates in small workings running in amongst the rocks. He considers "the total depth of the mine to be about 200 feet, and at the lower part is a spacious apartment, about 90 feet long by 52 feet broad, and the height, when he visited it, was, from the surface of the water, about 30 feet, but, he thinks, from the bottom of the pond it would be quite 90 feet." He adds that with the light of the torches the roof could not be seen.

Crossing on the floating stage, which had been brought down to search for the corpse, Catcott came to Sturmy's ghost-hole, about 8 feet above the water. "The entrance to this tunnel is about 10 feet broad and 5 feet high, resembling the mouth of an oven. Our explorer's courage failed him here—he let 'I dare not' overcome 'I would'; but on the authority of a gentleman who traversed it to the end, he describes it as "being nearly as long as the large one, but much narrower." The rock is veined throughout with semipellucid spar, especially is this the case in the large cavern, and although Mr. George Catcott endeavours to accommodate the small funnel-shaped workings to his brother's theory of these being the funnels by which the waters of the deluge retired to the internal abyss. We have no hesitation in ascribing them to the miners of the early centuries in the Christian era.

Archæology, like her sister science, Geology, was, in the 18th century, but in its infancy. No attempt was made to discover the rude tools of the miner, or to fix the date at which it had ceased to be worked. But it is evident that skilled men in their profession, the mine captains, Sturmy and Collins, in the 17th century had recognised Penpark as an old long disused lead mine, and could testify to its being rich in mineral.

The land has recently come into the possession of William Smith, Esq., who, to prevent accidents, has securely closed it. This then, we contend, is the most probable source whence the pigs of lead found in the Frome were derived, and we submit that, not only were they dug and smelted in the 2nd century but that Bristol was, at that period, a Roman place of export.

Mr. Kerslake, in corroboration of the above view, stated that he had seen a deed relating to land at Penpark, which bore the signature of King Alfred (883), in which it was named as a "place of diggings."

Since this paper was read, a discovery of an enormous quantity of second and third brass coins of the lower empire has been made at Filton, within a mile of Penpark Hole. By far the greater proportion are those of Constantine the Great.

ON THE RECENT DISCOVERY OF REMAINS OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE KEEP OF BRISTOL CASTLE, AND OF THREE ANCIENT WELLS ADJACENT, WITH NOTES OF THE CONTENTS OF ONE OF THE WELLS.

By S. H. SWAYNE, M.R.C.S., Clifton.

By favour of Messrs. Llewellin & James, Engineers and Coppersmiths, Castle Green, and Castle Street, Bristol, I have been furnished with particulars of the discovery during last year (1878), of some remains of the foundations of the Keep of the Castle of Bristol, and of the clearing out of one of three ancient wells, situated in the basement of Messrs. Llewellin and James' premises in the Castle, which have been recently re-built. The measurements and description have been supplied to me by Mr. R. H. Leaker, clerk of the works.

The foundations and the three wells were found at a level of ten feet below the roadway in Castle Green. The masonry, of well-jointed ashlar, formed a solid floor of about eight feet thick, and of nearly square shape, and terminated towards Castle Green in a sharp, well-defined, edge, but on the opposite side it was rough and broken, indicating that, originally, it extended further in the direction of what is now Castle Street. At a few feet from this floor the first of the three wells was discovered, and, in a line from this one towards the river, were two other wells about 80 feet distant from each other. The first well was the only one carefully examined. This is 6 feet in diameter at the top, and is roughly cut through the sandstone rock, the upper part being lined with uncoursed masonry. The total depth is 38½ feet, and at the time of examination there were some feet of water at the bottom. Filling the well to the top were various layers of building rubbish, worked and rough stone, twelve large stone balls, a quantity of fragments of broken jars and pitchers, decayed

wood and iron, numerous bones and skulls of domestic animals, and, at least, one entire human skeleton. Among the remains of pottery are four narrow necks belonging, apparently, to rounded jars, made without lips, of common red ware, about 7 or 8 inches long and 1½ in. wide at the top. Most of the pieces, however, belonged to ordinary pitchers of rough earthenware, coarsely ornamented on the exterior with lines running in different patterns, either horizontally or vertically. The handles, also, which are somewhat flattened, are marked by rough indentations, or crossing lines. The spouts of most of the pitchers are bridged over by the rim, so that the fluid passed through a hole in the top edge of the pitcher. The borders of the bottoms of the pitchers are frequently scalloped with a running cord-pattern. Some of the jars were large and broad-mouthed, but none of these are at all entire. The most remarkable ornament upon any of the pitchers is a horse-shoe in relief on one of them, with the nail-heads well defined and the heel of the shoe slightly raised. There are, at least, a dozen necks of pitchers among the fragments. The glazing, which is very coarse, is either darkish green or brown, in color.

I submitted specimens of the pottery to Mr. William Edkins, of Charlotte Street, Bristol; who considered them to be of the common domestic pottery of about the 12th or 13th century.

The wood and iron work is greatly decayed, and consists chiefly of the remains of buckets and their handles. One piece of iron, on a fragment of a staff of wood, is of the shape of a boat-hook. With these three rather large keys were found, also some irregular lumps of lead and a few oyster shells.

The bones, which are very numerous, are chiefly those of domestic animals, as the ox, goat, boar, dog, cat, rat, barn-door fowl, and a larger bird of the size of a turkey. The long bones of the ox, goat, and boar, are mostly broken, but those of the dog, cat, and fowl are entire.

A human skeleton was found, the bones of which are nearly complete. It is that of a young person, probably from 10 to 15 years of age. The epiphyses of the long-bones are separated from the shafts by decay, and the skull, which is well-formed, is entire

with the exception of the loss of a considerable portion of the occiput, which was probably crushed by the superincumbent weight of rubbish after the head had become separated from the neck. An imaginative person might be tempted, perhaps, to conjure up some tale of violence in connection with this skeleton, but there are no marks about it to support such an idea. Amongst the bones I found also a human radius and ulna belonging to another individual, who was evidently of adult age.

The stone balls are roughly cut from red or grey sandstone. They vary considerably in size; the smaller ones range from 16 to 23½ inches in circumference, the larger ones from 30 to 38½ in.—one of the latter, of oval shape and transversely broken, is 30 inches in circumference and 11 inches long.

In a note to Mr. Nicholls' paper on "Bristol Castle," in the "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for 1878-9," Vol. III., p. 188, it is suggested that these balls were intended, respectively, for the 5-pounder and 63-pounder guns used in the 17th century, the latter of which, he says, were denominated "Canon Royall." This name appears, however, to have been used as early as the beginning of the 15th century for cannon carrying balls of 48lbs.[1] These large stone balls were probably intended to be discharged from mortars.

The upper layers of rubbish in this well may have been thrown in at the time the castle was demolished in 1654; but I think that the old iron work, pottery and bones had, probably, gradually accumulated, owing to the well being no longer used for water supply.

The whole of the above remains are deposited in the Museum of the Bristol Museum and Library.

Measurements of the successive layers of material in the well, commencing at the top.

Rubbish, earth, and rough stones	6 feet.
Rough and squared Caen stone	2 ,,
Five small stone balls	2 ,,
Rough and square Caen stone	3 ,,

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, 1815.

Fine sifted building rubbish	3 feet
Rough and worked stone	$2\frac{1}{2}$,,
Necks of jars, &c.	$1\frac{1}{2}$,,
Building rubbish, and rough and worked stone	10 ,,
Seven large rough-hewn stone balls	2 ,,
Iron and wood-work	1 ,,
Red-ware jugs, wood, and bones of animals	1 ,,
Broken pottery, and human skeleton	$2\frac{1}{2}$,,
Do. largest pieces	2 ,,
TOTAL	$38\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

PEERAGE, BARONETAGE, AND KNIGHTAGE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE FOR 1880. By Joseph Foster. Westminster: Nichols and SONS, 25, Parliament Street.

The sciences of Heraldry and Genealogy, which in the 18th century were treated with ridicule and contempt for their pedantry and inaccuracy, have in our age become the most popular and attractive of studies. Old Heraldry is now recognised as a most useful aid to our knowledge of Family and National History, and the countless valuable Family Histories which have of late years issued from the press, both publicly and privately, shew evidence of the labour and care with which they have been prepared. This has been mainly due to the freedom of access to the invaluable genealogical treasures preserved in the Public Record Office and other Public Repositories, which afford the means of verifying facts and dates. With this great revival in genealogy and heraldry has arisen, or been intensified, the new danger of unfounded pretension, fostered and encouraged by the baits held out to the vulgar and ignorant, by the unscrupulous traffickers in arms which are to be found in many places in London, and who have, in numerous instances, imposed upon the honest, though unwary enquirer.

Taken as a whole, we believe the Genealogies of the Peers of England will bear comparison with those of any country in freedom from error. This is especially the case with the descent of a peer from his first ennobled ancestor; nevertheless, those portions of the genealogy which are prior to that event, and were compiled in a credulous period, require a very vigilant investigation. This is true even of the Peerages of Dugdale and Collins for England, and Crawford and Douglas for Scotland; and the evil has not been eradicated by our most popular and prolific writer on genealogy—Sir Barnard Burke. However unimpeachable in character the representative of a family may be, no genealogy should be received from him without a critical verification. The means of effecting this are comparatively ready at hand, though much labour and skill are required for the work, and honest work of this kind is not difficult to obtain. Truly it cannot be done all at once, but we should like to see a conscientious attem t made at beginning it.

The present year has produced a new claimant to patronage, as a genealogical authority, in Mr. Joseph Foster, as shewn in his splendidly got up Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage. Mr. Foster fully recognises the abuses to which we have above adverted. Referring to the existing Peera[illegible] and Baronetages, he says, "no advance worthy of the name has been made either in matter of pedigree, accuracy of coat armour, or heraldic illustrations, nor has any care been taken to exclude false titles, or those

which may have been honestly assumed upon insufficient evidence"; adding, "it would seem that some unscrupulous persons have been perfectly content to be their own authority, provided they could persuade some equally credulous editor into making place for their lineage, so called."

It is a point of great importance when an author has a clear perception of the object at which he aims, and these remarks of Mr. Foster shew that his great motive is to seek after accuracy, and to attempt to cleanse that Augean stable, the Peerage and Baronetage, of the rubbish which encumbers it. This is a gigantic undertaking, and to say that Mr. Foster, even after five years' labour, has not fully succeeded in the task does not detract from the value of his efforts. It is impossible, with the utmost vigilance, in a work of this kind to avoid numerous errors in names and dates, and these are found in his work as are other errors of detail, which will, doubtless, be removed in future editions. There are, however, other faults of a more grave character: *e.g.*, the introduction of extensive pedigrees of collateral branches far removed from, and in some cases not falling within the limits of, the titles with which they are connected, to the exclusion of very important historic descents.

We are glad to see that Mr. Foster has given special attention to the degree of Baronets whose pedigrees have been well worked up. Probably from the fact that the dignity is not considered to convey any privilege beyond precedency, no effectual means exists for the repression of spurious and unfounded claims. Hence many titles, which have long been believed to be extinct, have been assumed from putative remote ancestors without proof of descent, or of the extinction of nearer heirs; and in other cases two or more claimants appear, each assuming the title, and becoming, more or less, recognised, severally, as baronets. These doubtful baronetcies Mr. Foster has very properly relegated to an appendix, which he aptly calls "Chaos," not implying thereby the absolute rejection of the claims, but signifying that further evidence is required in their support before they can be accepted as authentic.

The most striking feature in the volume is the illustrations, which in all other works of this class are extremely weak and bad. Mr. Foster has given special attention to this branch, and has, he says, "been allowed full access to some of the more spirited drawings of the older herald painters, the records of whose art remain with the College of Arms; and," he adds, "I have been favoured with tracings of such trickings as seemed specially characteristic and more particularly worthy of adoption for this work." The result is a series of heraldic illustrations of great breadth and boldness, some of marked excellence, but in others, Mr. Foster, who has studied to give his artists much freedom, has allowed them to run riot, resulting, in some cases, to exaggeration bordering on the grotesque. We greatly regret this, because it goes far to spoil what would otherwise have been, and nevertheless still is, a vast improvement in heraldic illustrations.

We make not this complaint without, we think, just cause, and with a view to an improvement in some of the illustrations in the next edition.

In many instances the supporters are wanting in that attitude of dignified repose which would become their functions as *supporters* of the

shield. The so-called supporters of the Earl of Airlie and Linthrathen, are trampling the shield underfoot. The shield of the Earl Annesley rests upon nothing, and the supporters, instead of sustaining it, would seem to be leaning upon it. The supporters of the Earl of Breadalbane have no footing whatever, but are suspended in mid-air, attempting to prop up the helm and crest, whilst the shield beneath them is not touched. In the case of the Earl of Aylesford the whole achievement rests upon the Earl's coronet, placed underneath, the balls of which afford footing to the griffin and lion, whilst on the funeral hatchment, given to the Earl of Pomfret, the fess of the arms extends beyond the shield, and lion supporters are shewn sitting astride the ends, and appear to be howling because of the extinction of the house of their lord.

These and other eccentricities are much to be regretted in what would be otherwise excellent work, and we are also sorry for some other liberties which Mr. Foster has taken with heraldic usage in discarding the recognised helmets of degrees and adopting tilting helmes of all kinds of forms.

With all its faults, however, Mr. Foster's Peerage shews evidence of laborious research and conscientious care, and it will doubtless take rank with the highest works of its class, and should find its way into every good library, public and private.

DOMESDAY STUDIES : An Analysis and Digest of the Somerset Survey, (according to the Exon Codex) and of the Somerset Gheld Inquest of A.D., 1084, as collated with, and illustrated by, Domesday. By the Rev. R. W. Eyton, late Rector of Ryton, &c. London : Reeves and Turner. Bristol : T. Kerslake & Co.

In the last volume of the Transactions of our Society we had the privilege of *noticing* Mr. Eyton's "Key to Domesday," as illustrated by the Survey of the County of Dorset. He has now issued two other volumes treating of the County of Somerset.

The author states in his preface that "after many months' study of the Somerset Domesday, he finds nothing to disturb, but very much to support, those principles of criticism and those methods of analysis which were adopted in his "Key to Domesday," as "illustrated by the Dorset Survey." Domesday, "thus examined," he says, "county after county, becomes a Science more and more exact. The utilitarianism, or the indifferentism, of the age will lead many to ignore such a Science. These are they who will also despise History in any form."

"Even though a Science," he adds, "Domesday may become popular. There is hardly a man or a youth of English birth, and with an English soul, who would not care to know something of the name and state, eight centuries ago, of the place wherein he was born and wherein he lives—something, too, of the relative condition of the class most parallel with that to which he himself happens to belong. To identify this or that locality with some place named in Domesday ; to learn, if it be not so named, how and where it was represented or concealed in Domesday : these,

then, are matters of popular interest. Most of these identities lie on the surface of mere words. They are well-known, we would rather say, widely advertised, and largely believed, But many also are ill-ascertained, many unworthily accredited, and beyond these, there are many identities which remain in needless obscurity, a few only which belong to the region of insoluble doubt.

To minimize obscurity,—to sift to the dregs all questions of difficulty:—these are the processes which can adequately be conducted only by treating Domesday as a Science."

These are the principles, and this is the object which the author has before him in the work under notice, and they are in fact the same, though somewhat differently treated, as those which he so well developed in his "Key to Domesday, as illustrated by the Dorset Survey." Indeed the more one sees of Mr. Eyton's treatment of Domesday the more is one astonished at his power of analysis and at the sagacity and diligence with which the results of his investigations are worked out.

We have said that Mr. Eyton's plan in this work differs somewhat from that adopted in the Dorset Book. In the latter, in a long introductory essay, he treats of the technicalities of Domesday, and especially of the measurements. Having done this so elaborately, he judiciously abstains from repeating it in this work (upon this point we refer the reader to Trans., Vol. III., p. 277 et seq.), and proceeds to generalize upon the basis there laid down.

Mr. Eyton's present work rests mainly upon a comparison, or collation, of the three ancient documents:—the Geld Inquest of 1084, two years before the Domesday; the Exon Domesday; and that of the Exchequer, all, he considers, independent records.

As regards the first, King William several times after the conquest, and before the date of the Domesday Survey, levied the tax called *Danegeld*, and by clear evidence, both external and internal, the date of the Inquest in question is fixed in the year 1084, whereas the Domesday book was completed before Easter, 1086. "These two records," Mr. Eyton says, "explain and supplement one another in a manner which "may be almost said to double the antiquarian value of the greater record." The Geld Inquest, in addition to various other details, gives the names of the Hundreds which the Domesday of the south-western counties, except by the merest accident, omits; and whilst "Domesday purports to give the names of all manors, the Gheld Inquest rarely mentions a manor or villa. Yet here and there, where Domesday, by accident, omits the name of an estate, the Gheld Inquest has given a clue to the identity of the anonymous estate, and a clue to the restoration of the omitted estate." Unfortunately, however, the Gheld Inquest is confined to the five south-western counties: viz., Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, and it is particularly valuable as regards the first-mentioned county. It is somewhat remarkable that the Exon Domesday is confined to the same counties. This, as is well known, is very much more full of detail than the Exchequer book, though not so well arranged. We have hitherto been of the opinion that the

Exeter Book was transcribed, or compiled, from the original Inquests of the Domesday Commissioners, and that the Exchequer Book is an abstract of it, but Mr. Eyton is of opinion "that the clerks who drew the Exeter Record never saw the work of the Exchequer clerks, and, *vice versa*, that no single entry of the Exchequer Codex was copied or abstracted from the Exeter edition." Again Mr. Eyton says no fragment of the original notes of the Domesday Commissioners "is known to exist." He would (like the late Sir Henry Ellis and other commentators on Domesday) appear to have over-looked the fragment of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, in the Cottonian Collection, British Museum, recently brought to light by Mr. Nicholas Hamilton, and noticed in our present volume.

Mr. Eyton makes a careful comparison between the Exchequer and Exon Domesday Books, and comes to the conclusion that each is, in its way, all but perfect, though they are, respectively, faulty in some particulars. "The former," he says, "makes the most omissions; the latter the most errors."

In pursuing this examination he notes many items of no small interest, but we have not space to allow us to follow him into these details. We may, however, mention that he is of opinion, from the internal character of Domesday, as applying to particular circuits, that the choice of the leading commissioner in each circuit fell upon some magnate who had no possessions or personal interest in the district over the survey of which he presided, and concludes that William de St. Carileph, then Bishop of Durham, was the chief commissioner of the circuit formed by Somerset and the four other western counties above-mentioned. Moreover we must not omit to state that he pays a high tribute to Collinson, the Historian of Somersetshire, of whom he says:—"His discernment in the matter of Domesday nomenclature, and of the principles which should guide those who seek the modern equivalents of Domesday forms, was as keen as that of the great Anglo-Saxon scholar Kemble. His topographical knowledge was more than adequate to his work . . . Unfortunately, for his own fame and for us, Collinson never studied, and so never mastered, the Gheld-Inquest. He knew it, he quoted it, but seems to have remained blind to its great import." Although this is afterwards in some measure qualified, it is, nevertheless, high praise from Mr. Eyton.

We now proceed to treat more particularly of the Survey of Somerset and its incidents. The Domesday technical terms and measurements were explained in our notice of "The Key to Domesday"[1] to which we have already alluded and to which we must refer. Suffice it to say that "the same principles, the same rules of Domesday mensuration and values, derive added strength from the Somerset Survey." It will be remembered that the term *Hide* had been adopted by the Saxon kings as early as the 10th century, as the basis of the assessment of the Danegeld, and wherever it was found to exist it was continued as the foundation of the levy under the Domesday Survey. The Hide, however, did not contain any determinate quantity of land. It represented a tenement, or homestead, with the land annexed to it of uncertain area, the extent depending upon the

1 Trans., Vol. III., 277.

relative value of the land, but it was usually as much as would support a team of oxen for its cultivation. Hence the terms Hide and Carucate sometimes became convertible terms; they differed, however, in this, that in Dorset the Carucate was not geldable. Mr. Eyton points out this difference in the circumstances of the two counties of Dorset and Somerset. "The whole of Dorset was settled, occupied, and appreciable when its hidation was originally settled," and in the Domesday Survey the hidation was registered, but there were large tracts of Somerset (more than one-sixth of the county) "which had never been hidated,—never measured in any form by thought or phraseology of man. Neither did the Domesday Commissioners measure these tracts or say more than a chance word about them."

According to the best authorities obtainable, Mr. Eyton has come to the conclusion that the county of Somerset contains an area of 1,049,080 statute acres, but of this area upwards of one-sixth is neither measured nor registered in any form in Domesday, that is 177,970 acres are altogether omitted. This extensive excluded portion Mr. Eyton considers was the moors which very largely pervaded the whole county, and, though now very generally brought under cultivation, at the time of the Domesday Survey were almost inaccessible and utterly waste and profitless; consequently they were exempted from taxation.

Mr. Eyton has several chapters of considerable interest, shewing the differences which arise in the application to Somerset of the same principles which formed the basis of his work on Dorset, but we are unable to follow him through these details. Though the agricultural population of Somerset was mainly under the same denominations as that of Dorset, he notices, as remarkable, that no salt-workers (*Salinarii*) are recorded as working in Somerset, which, he concludes, arises out of the circumstance that the water of the Severn sea did not yield so high a per-centage of salt as the water on the Dorset coast.

Fabri are mentioned only once in the Somerset Domesday. The Abbot of Glastonbury had eighty smiths on his home-manor of Glastonbury, but notwithstanding that Somerset was known as an iron-producing district long before the Conquest, no miners seem to have been at work at the date of the Survey.

As regards farming stock.—With respect to *Carucæ* and *Carucæ ibi*, or actually working ox-teams, or teams-in-stock, so invariably registered even in the Exchequer Domesday, as a general rule there should be one such team for every registered plough-land, and there should be a plough-land for each geld hide. This rule was not found to be always attained to even in Dorset, though in some cases the ox-teams were in excess of the number proper for a manor; but in Somerset the default was greater in extent and of more frequent occurrence. With only three exceptions in every Hundred, or Franchise, the plough-lands were more in number than the original hides; in some cases they were double, or even treble, in number. On the other hand the numerical inadequacy of the teams-in-stock to the plough lands specified to be available was more constant in Somerset than in Dorset.

Both these phenomena, Mr. Eyton says, "tell one territorial tale;—an antiquated and lenient rate of taxation, scant population, and therewith imperfect occupation, an application of capital, insufficient, whatever the natural faculties of the soil."

Mr. Eyton gives a list of Domesday Somerset Landholders, containing the names or titles of 37 individuals, and also of eleven corporate or plural bodies, with respect to many of whom he annexes biographical and other notes.

There is much valuable and instructive information over which we should like to dwell, but we must hasten to a conclusion.

The Hundredal Notes are of great value as are also the very complete tables in which, under each Hundred, the Domesday manors are identified with existing ones, and compared in all their incidents with their præ-Norman, their Norman, and their present condition.

The following statement shews the distribution of Somerset lands at the time of the Survey. Supposing the whole Domesday territory of Somerset (being upwards of 3480 hides, or quasi hides) were divided into 348 parts. Then there will have belonged :—

"To the King in demesne, or by lapse, or escheat - - - - - - - and so more than one-fifth of the whole county.	more than 75 such parts.
To the Abbot of Glastonbury - - - or nearly one-eighth of the whole county.	more than 44¼ such parts.
To Geoffrey de Moubrai, Bishop of Coutances, or more than one-tenth of the county.	more than 36½ such parts.
To Robert, Comte of Moretain - - - or nearly one-tenth of the whole county.	nearly 34¼ such parts.
To the Bishop of Wells - - - - -	more than 28 such parts.
To the Bishop and Monks of Winchester -	nearly 12¾ such parts.
To the Abbeys of Bath, Muchelney, and Athelney, and to the other Religious Bodies and Personages - - -	nearly 22 such parts.
To Roger de Dowai - - - - -	nearly 10¾ such parts.
To Roger de Corcelle - - - - -	nearly 10¼ such parts.
To William de Moione, Sheriff of Somerset -	nearly 8 such parts.
To Roger Arundel - - - - -	nearly 7¼ such parts.
To William de Owe - - - - -	nearly 5¾ such parts.
To Turstin Fitz Rolf - - - - -	nearly 5½ such parts.
To Serlo de Burei - - - - -	nearly 5¼ such parts.
To Alured de Hispania - - - - -	nearly 4 such parts
To Odo, Bishop of Baieux; Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury; Eustace, Comte of Boulogne; Ida, Comtesse of Boulogne; Hugh, Earl of Chester; Baldwin de Exeter; Edward	

de Salisbury; Robert Fitz Gerold; and 14 other Barons - - - - - -	nearly 22¾ such parts.
To Godebold (Archibalistarius) Robert de Auberville, and seven other Kings' Sergeants - - - - - - -	more than 3¼ such parts.
To the Franco-Thanes, ten in number - -	more than 2¾ such parts.
To Anglo-Thanes, eighteen in number - -	more than 6¾ such parts.
To diverse persons, holding the 'addita' and 'ablata' of large manors - - -	more than 3 such parts.
TOTAL -	348

Dividing the same 348 parts after another fashion, we find—

In the Crown - - - - - - -	75 such parts.
In the Church and Religious Institutions -	107 such parts.
In Lay-Fiefs, including the Military Fiefs of Bishops of the Bayeux, Coutances, and Salisbury - - - - - - -	166 such parts.
TOTAL -	348

Hence it will be seen that the church, which, with its vassals and dependents, enjoyed more than a third of Dorset, enjoyed less than a third of Somerset: less by exactly nine parts out of three hundred and forty eight.

Howbeit, Bishop Giso's Fief in Somerset was larger than Bishop Osmund's Fief in Dorset, and the Abbot of Glastonbury had in Dorset and Somerset, a greater territory than was held by the Abbeys of Shaftesbury, Cerne, Milton, Abbotsbury, and Athelney, combined."

This work is another most valuable contribution by Mr. Eyton to Domesday literature, now happily so greatly increasing, and we trust he will long continue his useful labours until he shall have completed a similar exhaustive analysis for each of the counties embraced in the south western district. More than this, we fear, we must not hope for, for we apprehend that the materials do not exist for the production of like works for the counties beyond.

ESSAYS ON ART & ARCHÆOLOGY. By CHARLES THOMAS NEWTON C.B., PH.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum; Corresponding Member of the French Institute; and Hon. Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co., 1880.

THE relations which exist between the Fine Arts and Archæology is a subject of great magnitude and interest. It was feelingly and eloquently touched upon in the address of our President at Bristol in January last, and now we have the subject before us in a volume of essays from the accomplished and erudite pen of the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. These essays have been written at divers times, and have been printed in various periodicals, extending over

thirty years. The first is an address "On the Study of Archæology," delivered at the Congress of the Archæological Institute at Lincoln in 1850, and afterwards printed in the Archæological Journal. (Vol. viii., 1.)

We are very glad to see these fugitive essays collected into one volume, though we might have desired rather that Mr. Newton should have specially treated of the subject in the light of the marvellous discoveries made within the last few years; nevertheless Mr. Newton has lessened the inconvenience arising on this account by modifying, as far as practicable, the text in respect to statements which our additional knowledge has shewn to be inexact.

In his essay on the study of archæology, Mr. Newton lays down the principle that the subject-matter of the science is "three-fold :—oral, written, and monumental," and though he adds that it would perhaps be more exact to say, there are but two classes of archæological evidences, the oral and the monumental,—monuments being either inscribed or monuments of art and handicraft,—he treats of them under the three divisions.

In the first he shews that language in its various forms, written and spoken, including those archaic words and inflections used in the mother tongue of the peasantry of most nations, which have not been adopted into written language, and the legends, songs, and folk-lore, together with the manners and customs prevailing among rural populations in remote districts, are *oral* evidences of archæology, demanding the attentive study of the archæologist. He next, in more detail, enters upon the subject of *written* evidences—"No animal," he says, "but man draws or writes, or leaves behind him conscious monumental records." To draw and to carve, he adds, are natural to man; speaking, gesture, music, are his transient—sculpture, painting, and writing, his permanent—means of utterance." Commencing with the picture, or Direct Representation of visible objects, he traces the gradual developement of hieroglyphic characters down to the general alphabetic system, and to the invention of the art of writing and what is called literature. He divides literature into two classes: Composed Literature: as history, poetry, &c., and documentary literature; as charters, &c., and he justly says: "Composed Literature should, as far as possible, be confronted with those written documents which are, in reference to it, vouchers, commentary, or supplement. Sometimes," he says, "we possess the very materials which the historian used; and sometimes we have access to evidence of which he had no knowledge," He further insists upon the value of written documents, not only for the immediate purpose of history, but subordinately as fixing the date of inscribed work. "Palæography," he remarks, "has rules of criticism of its own, perfectly independent of those by which we judge of art or fabric."

We feel constrained to give, though in a weak and abbreviated form, Mr. Newton's observations on imitative art. He draws a parallel between the language of Greek Art and the language of the Art of mediæval Christendom, in comparison with which he considers all other ideas of Art a rude dialect. "The Greek Myth absorbed into itself the earliest theological and philosophical speculations of the race, blending religious traditions with the

traditions of history, personified agencies with the deeds of real personages, the record of physical phenomena with poetic allegory—so the Figurative Language of Art expanded to express this complex developement. Mythography, or the expression of Myth in Art, moved on, *pari passu*, with mythology, or the expression of the Myth in Literature: as one has re-acted on the other, so is one the interpreter of the other." Both must be studied conjointly to see how completely the religion of the Greeks penetrated into their social institutions and daily life. So in the painting and sculpture of Mediæval Christendom we find an unwritten Theology, a popular figurative teaching of the sublime truths of Christianity, blended with the Apocryphal traditions of many generations. In Figurative and Symbolic language of Christian Art is the Key to its interpretation. By this Key we learn to read, not the great texts merely, but the most compendious and abbreviated Symbolisms, the isolated passages and fragments of the greater design. We recognise the unity of motive and sentiment which pervades mediæval Art and see how an external unity of style is the result of a deeper spiritual unity; and the antiquities, which, to the common observer, seem of small account, become to us full of meaning. "Every object which reflects and repeats the greater art of the period, whether it be costume, or armour, or household furniture, is of interest to the Archæologist. The cross which formed the hilt of the sword of the warrior; the martyrology which was embroidered on the cope of the ecclesiastic, or which inlaid the binding of his missal; the repetition of the design of Raffaelle in Majolica ware; if not in themselves the finest specimens of mediæval art, are valuable as evidence of the universality of its pervading presence—as fragments of a great whole."

In treating of his third division, Constructive Art, Mr. Newton naturally gives the first and highest place to Architecture, of which he treats in its various forms. Tempting as this subject is, the space at our command forbids us from pursuing it further; indeed we should not have noticed this first Essay at so great a length, but that it forms, as it were, an introduction to those which follow in regular sequence.

The second Essay is a letter written in 1853 to the Chairman of the Select Committee of the National Gallery "On the Arrangement of the Collections of Art and Antiquities in the British Museum," in which Mr. Newton strongly deprecates the removal of some of the objects of art and antiquities to other museums which was at that time contemplated. Having reviewed the various antiquities under the respective heads of the four great nations of the old world, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks, and the Romans, he points out "the advantages of juxtaposition, which cannot," he says "be demonstrated by mere words, they must be learnt by the eye," by comparing objects of a like kind with each other, and this cannot be done with such advantage in separate museums as if they were all under the same roof. We most entirely agree with him in these views and strongly commend them to all who may contemplate the formation of Museums of Antiquities.

With respect to the Greek Sculptures from the west coast of Asia Minor in the British Museum, a large proportion of which have been acquired since 1840, Mr. Newton ranges them under three periods according to their

presumed dates : the Archaic period, ending a little after the close of the Persian War, B.C. 450—the period of the finest Art, including the schools of Pheidias and Praxiteles, ranging between B.C. 450 and B.C. 324, and the Macedonian period, extending from the last date to the accession of Augustus.

The additions to our museums, since 1840, of antiquities of the earliest period have been very large, chiefly from Athens, the west coast of Asia Minor, and the adjacent islands, and these form the best study of the true Archaic.

No one can read Mr. Newton's description of, and criticism upon, the sculptures treated of in this Essay without interest and profit. His remarks upon the Knidian Lion in the Elgin room, and upon the sculptures from the Monument raised by Artemisia to commemorate her husband Mausolos are, we think, especially just and deserving of notice. Of the latter he says :—

"The marbles in which Artemisia enshrined for all future time her widow's grief, have nothing funereal in their character, if we try them by the Kensal Green standards of what is deemed by us moderns appropriate and adequate to the public expression of genteel and decorous sorrow. These sculptures, on the contrary, like the funeral rites and sepulchral monuments of the Greeks generally, seem intended to divert the mind from the thought of decay and mortality, by presenting to us living forms, ideal in their beauty, exulting in the joyous consciousness of energy; and these forms are so combined that all through the composition, action, however violent, is never overstrained, but is subordinated to an all pervading and dominant harmony."

We should have felt inclined to recommend the study of these sculptures with Mr. Newton's book in the student's hand, but he himself says: "I would invite the readers of this memoir to contemplate the sculpture of the mausoleum with their own eyes, and try to translate their own impressions into words, instead of studying these noble remains through the medium, and in the leading strings, of professional critics."

Mr. Newton dwells at considerable length on Ancient Greek Inscriptions in two Essays, reprinted from the "Contemporary Review" of 1876 and the "Nineteenth century" of 1878 respectively. It is impossible to over-estimate the vast importance and value of this class of evidence in illustration of the history, religious and social, of the Hellenic races. When Böckh and the editors who succeeded him, 1839-50, in the compilation of that great work the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, only some 9000 inscriptions were known to exist, but the labours of Archæologists of various countries since that period have brought to light so large an additional number that they may now be reckoned at from 20,000 to 30,000, so that the student of Greek history has other evidence upon which to rely beyond the text of the old Greek and Latin authors. Mr. Newton, however, justly says :- "But up to the present date too little has been done to make these texts (the inscriptions) accessible to the general student, who seldom has the time, if he has the patience, to wade through the dry and unpalatable details which form so large a part of the commentaries on inscriptions.

What is now wanted is a popular work, giving a classification of Greek Inscriptions according to their age, country, and subject, and selection of texts by way of samples under each class. In the absence of such a work I have attempted here to sketch out a rough classification of this vast chaotic mass of ancient documents." And he limits his observations to inscriptions on durable materials, such as stone and metal—"to inscriptions, in short, of a monumental character, which were, for the most part, public documents designed to be read by successive generations of men through all time."

Mr. Newton is of opinion that there may be Greek inscriptions earlier than B.C. 600, but that the number of inscriptions to which a date can be assigned earlier than the Persian War is very small, though among them are several of considerable interest. He mentions one upon the leg of a colossal statue in front of the great temple of Abou-Symbul in Nubia, which records an expedition to explore the Upper Nile, "as far as they found the river navigable," that is as far as the second cataract. This was in the time of King Psammetichos, or not later that B.C. 611. This inscription Mr. Newton considers of inestimable value, not only as relating to the exploration of the Nile but also to the student of Greek Palæography. The most interesting inscription of the archaic period, however, which has come to light was found in the Morea. It is engraved on a bronze tablet and records a treaty between the Eleans and the Heræans, and which, in English, may be thus rendered :—

"The treaty between the Eleans and Heræans. Let there be an alliance for one hundred years, commencing from this year. If there be need of conference or action, let the two States unite both for war and all other matters. Those who will not join shall pay a fine of a silver talent to the Olympian Zeus. If any, whether citizen, magistrate, or deme, destroy what is here inscribed the offending party shall be subjected to the fine here specified." This is a very brief diplomatic instrument, but there is a legal one, of even earlier date, still more concise. After an invocation of the Gods it contains only these words in the operative part. "Saotis gives to Sikainia the house and all other things.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the value of these inscriptions as illustrative of the inner life and manners of the ancient Greeks. They are too numerous and too long to give examples. It will be sufficent to shew their importance and their connection with every relation of life to say that they deal with all kinds of subjects : *e.g.*, fiscal matters—public works—diplomatic services—political edicts—personal and public privileges —prices and wages—conveyancing—sepulchral epitaphs—religion, ritual and the priesthood—Dedications to the Gods. Upon the latter inscriptions, which are of special interest, Mr. Newton makes the following eloquent remarks which we cannot refrain from extracting:

"Thus it came to pass that in the course of ages an ancient temple became a Museum of Art and Archæology, where, in the latter days of Paganism, the palæographer might trace the progress of the art of writing from the earliest Kadmean specimens ; the historian of art might gather materials for the classification of sculptors and painters according to schools, and

the cultivated tourist might gratify his curiosity by examining relics which local tradition attributed to the heroic age, or weapons and armour wrested from the "flying Mede" at Marathon or Salamis; even the progress of the industrial arts from century to century might be traced by examining minutely the implements and objects fashioned by the hand of man in a range of time which, in the case of some temples, may be calculated as not less than a thousand years. As these votive inscriptions, or *epigrammata*, multiplied in the course of ages, they became an object of interest to the polyhistoric students of the ancient world, and certain industrious Greek archæologists, such as Polemo and Philochoros, took the trouble to transcribe and publish collections of these epigrams, gathered from the ample stores of Athens, Delphi, and other celebrated cities. Some few, too, are preserved by Pausanias, whose account of the *donaria* at Olympia is the more precious, as its accuracy has been so strikingly confirmed by recent discoveries there; for, though the statues and other works of art which he describes have, it is to be feared, for the most part perished, the marble pedestals with their dedicatory inscriptions have been found in many cases, not only intact, but in their original positions. Of this incalculable wealth of votive epigrams the portion as yet rescued from the wreck of the ancient world would have appeared insignificant to Pausanias or to that Polemo whose indefatigable diligence earned him the title of *Stelokopas;* but to us these few *tabulæ ex naufragio* are much. If we have not the sabre of Mardonios taken at Marathon, or the silver-footed throne on which Xerxes sat at Salamis, both of which were once dedicated in the Akropolis at Athens, we may still see in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, the bronze serpent dedicated at Delphi by the allied Greeks after the victory of Platæa. If again we have not the colossal bronze statue of Zeus, and the three linen breast-plates dedicated at Olympia, by Gelon of Syracuse in gratitude for his victory over the Carthaginians, B.C. 480, we have in the British Museum the helmet which once crowned the trophy offered to the Olympian Zeus by Hiero, the brother of Gelon, after defeating the Tyrrhenians, B.C. 474. Time has also been pleased to spare us the dedication, on marble, of the temple of Athene Polias at Priene by Alexander the Great, and in the ruins of the Egyptian Kanopos was found a little gold plate which records the consecration of the *temenos* to Osiris by Ptolemy Euergetes the First and his queen Berenike. Scattered through Greece and Asia Minor are many votive inscriptions, which shew how widespread was the influence of the Seleukidæ, the Ptolemies, the kings of Pergamos, and other contemporary dynasties—how greatly they contributed to the embellishment of the Greek cities by noble architecture; and, with the same class of inscriptions as our guide, we may in many sites still trace out the changes which Roman despotism has wrought in the aspect of some of the most celebrated of the Greek cities. We thus see how the imperial ædiles of a conquered world made room for a growing population and more extended traffic by sweeping away much that was beautiful and venerable, and constructing, in compensation, those bridges and aqueducts, those amphitheatres, gymnasia, and baths, on the shattered ruins of which the names of the emperors and pro-consuls, under whose direction they were built, may still be seen."

Mr. Newton further gives us Essays on Mr. Wood's discoveries at Ephesus ; Dr. Schliemann's at Mycenæ ; General Cesnola's at Cyprus ; and those of the expedition sent by the German government at Olympia, all of which will be read with great pleasure and advantage.

His history of the foundations of the Ephesian Temple at Artemis, from a time, according to tradition, long antecedent to the establishment of a Greek Colony at Ephesus under the leadership of Androclus the son of Codrus, more than a thousand years before the Christian Era, and his description of its organisation and that of certain other temples in Asia Minor exite peculiar interest. "We see," he says, "in their internal organisation not a few things which remind us of the monasteries of Mediæval Christendom. The great landed estates, the treasures and precious works of Art accumulated through many generations of pious dedicators, the time-honoured privileges of the sacred ministers, their social isolation, and perpetual celibacy, are features common to both, though the result of very different influences and circumstances. But," he adds, "there is one institution which was probably handed on directly from expiring Paganism to new-born Christianity: that is the right of Sanctuary." "The asylum at Ephesus is the prototype of our Whitefriars and the sanctuary of Westminster."

Mr. Wood, after more than four years wearisome labour in excavating the deep alluvial plain of Ayasoluk, during which he removed 132,221 cubic yards earth, laid bare the site of the Artemision, of which in his work he gives a restoration as a result of measurement and study. Mr. Newton, however, after comparing Mr. Wood's restoration with the description given by ancient authors, is unable to agree with all Mr. Wood's deductions, and expresses his regret that Mr. Wood should not have fully stated the data upon which his restoration is based, but we must not omit to notice one fact, that underneath the pavement of the lowest of the three successive temples was found "a layer of charcoal, 3 inches in thickness, between two strata, 4 inches thick, of a substance of the consistence of putty, which was found on analysis to be a kind of mortar. This is evidently the layer of charcoal which was laid in fleeces of wool under the foundation of the temple of Chersiphron by the advice of Theodorus of Samos. We know of a tradition of a similar device in laying the foundation of a mediæval bridge in England.

Of all the important archæological discoveries which has yet have been brought to light we regard those made through the untiring devotion and enthusiasm of Dr. Schliemann, at Mycenæ and Illium as of the greatest interest and value because of the high classical associations connected with the sites which he has so successfully explored.

The origin, or foundation, of the Kingdom of Mycenæ is buried in the obscurity of high antiquity. According to tradition, Atreus the son of Pelops, having taken refuge in Mycenæ, after having murdered his brother, so ingratiated himself with the people that he succeeded his sister's son Eurystheus as king, and upon his death the kingdom devolved npon his son, or grandson Agamemnon, whom Homer describes as the "ruler of many islands and of all Argus," and makes the leader of the Greek host

at the siege of Troy. How much of this is mythic shadow and how much, if any, historic truth, we have yet to learn, though some have thought that Dr. Schliemann's recent and wonderful discoveries at Mycenæ have solved the problem and established Agamemnon's historic entity.

The very singular results of Dr. Schliemann's explorations are too well known to need being stated in much detail. In the walls of the acropolis he found masonry of three different characters which he classifies in three periods. The first is composed of large unwrought blocks, the interstices being closed by smaller stones wedged in; and this, Mr. Newton says, is certainly what the ancients meant by cyclopean masonry. In the second period the walls are built of polygons, with hewn joints, so well fitted together as to seem one solid face of wall. In the third kind of masonry the blocks are almost quadrangular, arranged in nearly parallel courses, but their joints are not always vertical.

With respect to the extraordinary results of Dr. Schliemann's excavations in the Acropolis we are tempted to give an extract, many of our members, possibly, not having had an opportunity of seeing an account of them. Within a certain circular area he discovered some tombstones, which suggested that it had been a place of sepulture. "Going lower here, Dr. Schliemann soon came on vestiges which confirmed this opinion. At the depth of 3ft. below the level of the tombstones he found two oblong blocks of stone, 5ft. 7in. long by 1ft. broad, and 7in. thick, lying one on the other; and at their south end a smaller slab in an oblique position; below these occurred, here and there, small quantities of black ashes, in which there were studs plated with gold, and other curious objects. On reaching the native rock a quadrangular tomb cut in the rock was discovered. This tomb, at the brink, was 21ft. 6in. long by 10ft. 10in. in width, but this area was much reduced at the bottom by a wall faced with schistose slabs, which lined the four sides of the cutting to a height of 6½ft., and projected all round 3ft. from the face of the rock. At the bottom of this grave, 15ft. below the level of the rock, and 25ft. below the surface of the ground before it had been opened by the excavations, Dr. Schliemann found a layer of pebbles, on which lay the remains of three bodies distant three feet from one another. From the marks of fire on the pebbles and round these remains, and from the undisturbed state of the ashes, Dr. Schliemann concludes that these three bodies had been partially burnt at the bottom of the grave. All three had been placed with their heads to the east, and appeared to have been forcibly squeezed into the space left for them between the lining walls, which did not exceed 5ft. 6in. The body which lay at the north end of the tomb had the face covered with a heavy gold mask, and on the breast was a gold breast-plate, 15⅝in. long, and 9½in. broad. On removing these a sight so marvellous presented itself to the astonished eyes of Dr. Schliemann that we must let him tell the tale in his own words:

"The round face, with all its flesh, had been wonderfully preserved under its ponderous gold mask; there was no vestige of hair, but both eyes were perfectly visible, also the mouth, which, owing to the enormous weight which had pressed on it, was wide open and showed thirty-two

beautiful teeth . . . The nose was entirely gone. The body having been too long for the space between the two inner walls of the tomb, the head had been pressed in such a manner on the breast that the upper part of the shoulders was nearly in a horizontal line with the vertex of the head. Notwithstanding the large gold breastplate, so little had been preserved of the breast that the inner side of the spine was visible in many places. In its squeezed and mutilated state the body measured only 2 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the top of the head to the beginning of the loins; the breadth of the shoulders did not exceed 1ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$in., and the breadth of the chest 1ft. 3 in. . . . . Such had been the pressure of the *debris* and stones that the body had been reduced to a thickness of from 1in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$in. The colour of the body resembled that of an Egyptian mummy. The forehead was ornamented with a plain round leaf of gold, and a still larger one was lying on the right eye. I further observed a large and a small gold leaf on the breast below the gold breast-cover and a large one just above the right thigh."

"These remains were, of course, in a very crumbling and evanescent condition, and Dr. Schliemann, fearing that they would not long resist the impact of the external air, had a painting made at once, from which a cut is given in his book. The body, however, held out for two days, when it was rendered hard and solid by the ingenuity of a druggist from Argos, who poured over it a solution of gum sandarac and alcohol."

The other bodies in this tomb, except the central one, which Dr. Schliemann supposed had been rifled by a shaft having been sunk upon it, and which, he considers, accounted for the presence of the gold studs found scattered in the upper soil, were much in the same state. The drinking vessels of gold, gold plates, gold studs, and other ornaments of gold found in this tomb were very numerous and of great value. There were also found bronze swords, some of them gold mounted, and unopened oysters and other remains of food. Dr. Schliemann also opened other tombs in the immediate vicinity, all of them containing the same wealth in gold and other ornaments.

The question then arises to what race or period can these rich and ancient relics be attributed? After a very full consideration of what has been written by ancient authors respecting Mycenæ, and the circumstances in which the deposits were found, assisted by a critical examination and careful analysis of the objects themselves, Mr. Newton has come to the conclusion that they are of very high antiquity, and that the eleventh century, B.C., would perhaps be an approximate date for them.

Mr. Newton's essays on the discoveries at Olympia, and in the Kimmerian Bosphorus, and on Greek Numismatics, are equally interesting with those we have more especially noticed, but our space will not allow us to add more. It would seem to be an impertinence in us to use any words in commendation of a work by one of the greatest living authorities upon the subject upon which he writes. We can only say that the book deserves a careful study by all who take an interest in Art and Archæology, and that its perusal will sustain the high reputation of its author.

MEMORANDA, HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL, relating to the Parish of Kelston, in the County of Somerset. By the REV. FRANCIS J. POYNTON, M.A., Vicar. Part. III. *Privately printed.*

We are glad to welcome the 3rd Part of Mr. Poynton's "Memoranda of Kelston," and are pleased to find that he promises a 4th Part. This Part is not one whit less interesting than its predecessors, and bears witness to the diligence exhibited by the author in the collection of his materials as well as to the care and skill which he has displayed in the use of them.

It opens with a biographical sketch of the witty courtier, Sir John Harrington, Queen Elizabeth's godson, and sometime favourite, whom, when a lad at Cambridge, Lord Treasurer Burleigh, to whom he was distantly related, addressed as "Boy Jack." He afterwards, from circumstances explained in his *Nugæ Antiquæ*, obtained the soubriquet "Jakes," or "Ajax." Having accompanied the ill-fated expedition of the Earl of Essex to Ireland, he there received from the Earl the honour of knighthood, and in a news-letter from Ireland communicating this event, the writer says: "Essex has made many knights; among the rest Sir Ajax Harrington," and this document has actually been indexed in the Calendar of State Papers (Dom., Vol. 1598-1601, year 1599, p. 306) under this name. It is well to point this out for the sake of identification and to avoid errors.

Mr. Poynton has introduced collateral pedigrees of Harrington, and pedigrees of Cecil and other families of kindred to the Harrington family, together with biographical and genealogical notes of considerable interest.

BRITISH GOBLINS: Welsh Folk-lore, Fairy Mythology, Legends and Traditions. By WIRT SIKES, United States' Consul for Wales. With Illustrations by J. C. THOMAS. London: Sampson Low & Co., 1880.

ANCIENT myths, legends, local customs, and folk-lore have become so fully recognised as the legitimate and necessary study of the Archæologist, that a Society has recently been formed with the special object of collecting and preserving what of those subjects, in these times of rapid change, yet remain to us. Of these classes there is no one so poetical, so interesting, and so valuable as Fairy Mythology. The existence of Fairies and Elves was generally believed by the rustic population of remote rural districts within living memory, and the tales relating to them unhesitatingly accepted. On the estate from which we write, in one of the most secluded and remote spots on the banks of the Wye, known as the "Coldwell Rocks," there lived a very diminutive woman called Mary Weare, who was universally believed to have been a fairy changeling to the day of her death, which happened about 40 years ago. The faith in fairies still lingers in this district among elderly people, and even among the younger to a greater extent than is supposed by the educated, or is admitted by themselves. This belief is called folly, credulity, and superstition. Be it so! nevertheless it is perfectly harmless; indeed all fairy stories have a good moral tendency, and we would rather see the simple child-like faith, which can accept as

historical truth the ancient legends of Tylwyth Teg, than the credulity of those who, with far higher pretensions to knowledge, suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the lying deceits of table-turning and spirit-rapping.

Mr. Wirt Sikes has done good service to the cause of Archæology in collecting into a charming volume a vast mass of curious information upon each branch of the subject of which he treats. He divides his work into four Books: I. "The Realm of Faærie;" II. "The Spirit World;" III. "Quaint Old Customs;" and IV. "Bells, Wells, Stones, and Dragons." He considers Wales, in a certain sense, the birth-place of Fairy Legends, from which all the cultivated peoples of Europe have borrowed the first subjects of composition in literature. His fairy tales are pleasing and instructive and have lost nothing of their poetical character by the manner in which he has treated them. The general name of the Welsh fairies is *y Tylwyth Teg*, and he divides them into five classes: I. "The Ellyllon, or Elves;" II. "The Coblynau, or mine faires;" III. The Bwbachod, or household faires. IV. "The Gwragedd Annwn, or faires of the lakes or streams;" and V. "The Gwyllion, or mountain faires," of each of which classes he relates many modern incidents as well as traditionary tales, all of which are remarkable for their strict moral tendency. The faires showered blessings on those only who were virtuous and well conducted. On their own part, they required to be well and civilly treated. Mr. Sikes says: "To name the fairies by a harsh epithet is to invoke their anger; to speak of them in flattering phrase is to propitiate their good offices. The student of fairy mythology perceives in this propitiatory mode of speech a fact of wide significance. It can be traced in numberless lands, and back to the beginning of human history among the cloud-hung peaks of Central Asia. The Greeks spoke of the fairies as the 'Eumenides, or gracious ones;' Highlanders, mentioned by Sir Walter Scott, uncover to the gibbet, and call it 'the kind gallows;' the Dayak will not name the small pox, but calls it 'the chief;' the Laplander calls the Bear 'the old man with the fur coat?' in Ammam the Tiger is called 'grandfather;' and it is thought that the maxim 'Speak only good of the dead,' came originally from the notion of propitiating the ghost of the departed, who in laying off this mortal garb, had become endowed with new powers of harming his late acquaintance."

In treating of the 'Spirit World,' Mr. Sikes describes the Welsh as not being more superstitious regarding spirits than other peoples: saying, "Belief in the visits to earth of disembodied spirits are common to all lands," and he relates the circumstances of many apparitions, some of them, it must be admitted, rather ludicrous. The "Quaint Old Customs" still existing in Wales are well worth recording, and form not the least valuable part of this work; while the legends connected with 'Bells, Wells, Stones, and Dragons' will be read with much interest. Some of them are common to other districts, whilst others seem to be entirely local. We should have liked, if possible, to have treated more at large of this volume, which will be found as interesting to the general reader as to the archæologist, but must conclude in the words of the last paragraph of the Preface. "With the rich mass of legendary-lore, to which these figures belong, the present volume is not intended to deal; nor do its pages treat, save in the

most casual and passing manner, of the lineage and original significance of the lowly goblins which are its theme. The questions here involved, and the task of adequately treating them, belong to the comparative mythologist and the critical historian, rather than to the mere literary workman."

The illustrations are spirited and good, of which, by the favour of the publishers, we give a specimen.

Rowli Pugh and the Ellyll.

LANCASHIRE INQUISITIONS returned into the Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster, and now existing in the Public Record Office, London. Vol, III., Stuart Period, Part I., 1st to 11th James I. Edited by J. PAUL RYLANDS, F.S.A. Printed for the Record Society [Lancashire and Cheshire], 1880.

Accurate and trustworthy local history can only be constructed upon the basis of original contemporary evidence, and we are glad to see that

the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society is making good progress in its valuable labours to place in the hands of its members records which are indispensable to the typographer and genealogist, but which are not generally accessible in the original.

Some unavoidable delay has arisen in the issue of Vol. II. of the series, and consequently it is kept back, and will, it is expected, be issued together with Vol. IV. before the end of the year; meanwhile the Council has issued Vol III., containing the Abstracts of the Inquisitions *post mortem* for the County of Lancaster for the first eleven years of James I.

It is proposed by the Council of the Society to print all the Inquisitions *post mortem* for Lancashire, divided into three Periods:—I. The Plantagenet; II. The Tudor; and III. The Stuart; and the reason why the Council has adopted the somewhat unusual course of taking the last first is: "because the facts connected with the lands and families of that date are likely to be more directly interesting to the members of the Society than those of very remote times."

For the sake of the general reader it may be desirable to state, briefly, the nature and object of these inquisitions. Anciently the greater part of the lands of England were either mediately or immediately held of the King upon condition of certain services. Those which were held immediately were said to be held *in capite*, or *in chief*. The lands were only granted for life, hence upon the death of every tenant *in capite* his lands escheated to the King, and a writ, called a writ *diem clausit extremum*, was issued to the King's Escheator for the district in which the estates lay, commanding him to seize the lands into his hands on behalf of the crown, and to hold an inquest by a jury to inquire of what lands the tenant died seized, of whom, and by what services the same were held, when he died, who was his heir, and what was the age of the heir at the time. These inquests were then returned into Chancery, and form what are called the *Inquisitions post mortem*, or *escheats*. We may add that if the heir were of the age of 21 years, or more, before he obtained possession of his lands he was required to pay, or give security for the payment of, his *relief*, which was usually the fourth-part of one year's revenue of the estates. *Reliefs* were so-called because "the heir relieves and, as it were, raiseth up again his lands, after they were fallen down into the Superior's hands" (Jacobs' Law Dictionary.) If the heir were a minor he became the King's Ward, but it might be tedious to enter further into this subject. When we add that in the *Inquisitions post mortem* are frequently set out wills, and deeds of settlement with very extensive remainders, not elsewhere to be found, we have said sufficient to shew the very great importance of these records to topographical and genealogical students.

The abstracts of the Inquisitions are very tersely and well made in English by Mr. J. A. C. Vincent, whose skill and knowledge of the subject are well known. Nothing seems to be omitted, and there is not a word too many. They are, in essence, faithful reproductions of the latin originals. The spelling of the names has been carefully preserved, following the variation of the orthography in the records, and the Christian names are englished on an unvarying method.

The editor states that in view of the issue of future volumes of Lancashire Inquisitions the fact should be noticed that some of these documents, not now known to exist in the Public Record Office, have sometimes been found among the Muniments of Landowners, and in the Collections of Antiquaries, and he begs that, should any such documents, relating to Lancashire, be so found, the owners will kindly lend them to him, so that the series of abstracts may be made as complete as possible.

The work bears evidence that it has been very carefully edited by Mr. Rylands, who has prefaced it with an Introduction explaining the nature of the documents abstracted in this volume, and the technical words and law terms, to which allusion is made.

The work is of more than local interest, and as, doubtless, many of the landowners whose inquisitions *post mortem* are here given held lands also in other counties, the value and usefulness of the volume would, we think, have been greatly enhanced had, in such cases, the names of the Counties for which further Inquisitions were taken been noted at the bottom. We venture to throw out this suggestion to the Council and to the Editor, or Editors, in the preparation of future volumes of Inquisitions.

THE PAST IN THE PRESENT: WHAT IS CIVILIZATION? By Arthur Mitchell., M.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1880.

We have read Dr. Mitchell's ten Rhind Lectures on Archæology with a considerable amount of interest, not anticipating that, to such an extent as is shewn by him, the Past has survived into the Present.

Dr. Mitchell lays down this maxim, in which we entirely agree, that "the methods followed in archæological enquiries should be as strict as those which are deemed necessary in other departments of Science," and that especially should this principle be observed in enquiries concerning the antiquity and condition of the so-called Primeval Man. He combats the generally received opinion regarding his degraded state and the immensity of his age upon the earth, which, he considers, rests upon a one-sided and unscientific view of the subject. Much of the general conception of that condition, he thinks, arises from the character of the dwellings, so far as they are known to us, inhabited by the primitive races and the rudeness of the implements which they used for the supply of their necessities; and he shews that similar dwellings continue to be occupied in remote districts in Scotland, and that implements of the same rude character are still in use by certain sections of a people in a high state of civilization; and that these implements possess no inconsiderable merit in their peculiar fitness for the special purposes for which they are used, and shew, upon examination, no small amount of skill and mechanical ingenuity.

We are all aware how greatly people have been perplexed as to the use of the little implements which antiquaries know as *Spindle Whorles*. By some they have been called *Adder Stones*—by others, *Fairies' Grind-Stones*, and by many they have been regarded with some degree of superstitious

awe. They have been found in large numbers in and near ancient habitations throughout the world—in the British circular huts—in the Anglo-Saxon graves—among the relics of the Lake dwellings of Switzerland—and even by Dr. Schliemann in his Excavations at Mycenæ; and Dr. Mitchell has found them now in common use in the Island of Fetlar, one of the Shetland group, as they are, here and there, not only in the remote districts of Scotland but throughout the whole of Europe. Though Dr. Mitchell admits that the processes which have superceded hand-spinning are vastly superior to it, and are the result of a higher culture, nevertheless, he says, "there went brains in the invention of the spindle and whorle," and, he adds, that the hand-spinning women of India produce a yarn which is finer and has fewer filaments than any yarn otherwise, or elsewhere, manufactured, and he describes the spindle used in the manufacture of the marvellous muslin of Decca, to which has been given the poetic name of *Evening dew, &c.*

At the village of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, Dr. Mitchell found in common use, and saw made by hand without the aid of any kind of potters' wheel, a kind of bottle, or vase, called a *craggan*. He says "there is nothing known in the way of pottery more rude than these craggans. The rudest pottery ever discovered among the relics of the Stone age is not ruder than this, and no savages now in the world are known to make pottery of a coarser character; nevertheless, the old woman who manufactured it was full of shrewdness, a theologian in her way, well versed in church quarrels, and in the obligations of the poor law, and quite able to be well versed in a score of other things if the need and opportunity had arisen," and, he asks: "Have we any sufficient reason for believing that the Cave people were inferior to her, or, for that matter, inferior to any of us, in capacity for culture?"

Dr. Mitchell found in the Hebrides many other simple implements in daily use not perceptably differing from those used in the earliest dawn of man's existence upon earth and the day-spring of civilization. Among these we may mention *smoothing stones*, and the *caschrom*, or foot plough. The latter he pronounces to be admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is used in the peaty soil of the Hebrides, for no other description of plough could take its place. He also describes certain circular or bee-hive huts which he found inhabited. These portions of his lectures are profusely and admirably illustrated.

Dr. Mitchell comes to the conclusion, to which most antiquaries had before arrived, that the division of antiquities into three classes called the Stone Age—the Bronze Age—and the Iron Age, cannot be strictly defined; that each differed in period of time in various regions; that one overlapped the other, and that in some countries the Bronze Age never existed at all, and never will exist; that the Stone Age and the Iron Age are co-existent, that rudeness of implements is not necessarily a proof of great antiquity, though it is true that perfect work was attained by degrees, and that though new discoveries supplant the old Art in which great skill may have been attained, the old Art often dies out by a process of degradation. Its higher productions are first ousted and only its inferior

ones continue to appear, growing less and less perfect as the skill needed for high-class work becomes lost and forgotten.

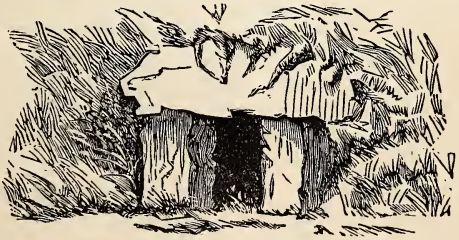
Dr. Mitchell's remarks upon the old superstitions and customs, now, or lately, prevailing in the remote parts of Scotland are of great interest, whilst his last four lectures on Civilization, arising out of the former, are clearly and thoughtfully written, and his work, altogether, forms one of the most valuable contributions to scientific and archæological literature which have recently appeared.

OUR ANCIENT MONUMENTS, AND THE LAND AROUND THEM.

By Charles Philip Kains-Jackson, with a Preface by Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S., M.P. London : Elliot Stock, 1880.

It is a sad reflection that Sir John Lubbock's persistent zeal, during many years, for the preservation of some, at least, of our ancient National Monuments, should, at the last moment, have been defeated through the narrow prejudices and jealousy of certain noble Lords, who allowed their patriotism to be stifled by an imaginary fear of an interference with proprietary rights. We must, however, wait patiently for the growth of public opinion, doing what we can to encourage it, and for an enlargement of the view of those through whose mistaken influence the late Bill, though passed by a large majority in the House of Commons, at the last moment collapsed. It is hoped that the disappointment now felt will be but temporary, and that the next Bill to be introduced into Parliament will cover a wider area than the last. Meanwhile Mr. Kains-Jackson has conferred a great boon upon the public, and upon the cause of Archæology, by the timely publication of his work recently issued, giving a pleasing and clear description of the situation and character of each of the Monuments which it was proposed to place under the protection of the law. The number indeed was small, scarcely more than three score throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and all of the Præ-historic period. Of these one only is situate within the area covered by this Society, viz. : the Chambered tumulus at Uley, locally known as 'Hetty Peglar's Tump,' which was visited by the Society in July last.

Mr. Kains-Jackson's work possesses a double advantage. His popular and interesting description of the several Monuments and their surroundings, of which some good illustrations are given, will not only be useful to those who may have an opportunity of visiting them, but it will have, also, this wider and more beneficial result that it will cause the general public to become acquainted with



The Chambered Tumulus at Stoney Littleton, Wellow, Somersetshire.

the object sought to be attained, and the nature of the Monuments it is desired to preserve for future generations, many of which class, within a few years, have disappeared and others are yearly being injured or irrecoverably lost. For this reason we hope the work will have a very wide circulation.

Sir John Lubbock's admirable, though brief, introduction will be most useful in extending a popular knowledge of archæology.

A TREATYSE OF FYSSHYNGE WYTH AN ANGLE, by Dame Juliana Berners, being a *fac-simile* reproduction of the first book on the subject of fishing printed in England, by Wynkyn de Worde, at Westminster, in 1496, with an Introduction by REV. G. M. WATKINS, M.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1880.

THIS carefully produced reprint has a tripple claim upon our attention: 1st, because it is the first known work upon the subject of which it treats; 2nd, for its intrinsic merit as a hand-book or guide to the gentle craft; and 3rd, as being a *fac-simile* of one of the earliest productions of that eminent typographer, Wynkyn de Worde, so famous for the excellence of his type.

In the year 1486 a Book entitled "The Book of St. Albans," containing treatises upon Hunting, Hawking, and Coat-Armour, was printed by the schoolmaster-printer at the Abbey of St. Albans. Of this a second edition, in folio, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1496, and the colophon of the treatise on hunting shews that it was written by Dame Julyans Berners. In this collection is included a "Treatyse on Fysshynge wyth an Angle," evidently from the same pen. The identity of the lady author has never been established. Mr. Watkins, in his Preface, states that "she is said to have been a daughter of Sir James Berners, of Roding Berners, in Essex." We should, however, be inclined, in the absence of some confirmatory evidence, to conclude that she was rather the *wife* of some Knight of the name than a *daughter*. Moreover, if the treatise was written between 1486 and 1496, as would appear to be probable, the author could scarcely have been the daughter of Sir James Berners, who was executed a century before. The author, in the last paragraph of her work, gives the following reason for including the treatise on fishing in the collection of the other treatises. Her words are quaint and characteristic. She says: "And for by cause that this present treatyse sholde not come to the hondys of eche ydle persone whyche wolde desire it yf it were enpryntyd allone by it self & put in a lytyll plaunflet, therefore I have compylyd it in a greter volume of dyuerse bokys concernynge to gentyll & noble men, to the entent that the forsayd ydle persones whyche sholde haue but lytyll mesure in the sayd dysporte of fysshynge sholde not by this meane vtterly dystroye it."

The "lytyll plaunflet," included in the greater volume, was separately reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, in quarto, without date, probably in the same year, certainly very soon afterwards, it being the next work which issued from his prolific press. It commences with the heading: "Here

begynnyth the treatyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle," over the curious wood-cut, *a fac-simile* of which, and of the type, is shewn on the next page. A *fac-simile* of the wood-cut was given by Sir John Hawkins in his edition of Walton's Complete Angler, published in 1760. This edition differs, in some respects, from the folio edition. There is some variation in the spelling, and there are a few omissions. Of this unique edition, of which one copy only is known to exist, the work before us is a *fac-simile* reprint.

After a short preface, or introduction, in which the author warmly eulogises the pleasures and advantages of "fyssynge wyth an angle," contrasting this "dysporte" with the labour and dangers attending "huntynge, hawkynge, and foulynge," she proceeds with her directions, saying: "Yf ye woll be crafty in anglyng ye must first learn to make your harneys," and gives instructions therein which are very simple and illustrated by engravings. This being done, she says: "I woll tell you how ye shall angle: "there is vi. manere of angling. That one is at the ground for troughte and the other fisshe. Another is at ẏ ground at an arche, or at a stange where it ebbyth and flowyth, for bleke, roche and darse. The thyrde is wyth a flote for all manere of fysshe. The fourth wyth a menowe for ẏ troughte wythoute plumbe or flote. The fyfth is rennynge in ẏ same wyse for roche and darse wyth one or two heeres & a flye. The syxte is wyth a dubbyd hoke for the troughte and graylynge." Then describing the different sorts of fish, she gives explicit instructions for each kind of fishing, than which, after four centuries' experience, nothing can be said more judicious. As a general instruction, she says: "And for the fyrst and pryncypall poynte in anglynge, kepe ẏ euer fro the water fro the sighte of the fysshe: other ferre on the londe: or ellys behynde a busshe, that the fysshe se you not . . . . . also loke that ye shadowe not the water as muche as ye may."

She concludes her treatise in an eloquent and earnest exhortation to the angler, that in the exercise of his disport he should use generous and noble conduct; that he should not fish in any poor man's special water; that he should not break any man's gynns, weares, or hedges, nor leave open his gates; that he should not act in a covetous and mercenary spirit for the sake of gain, but principally for his solace, for the health of his body and specially for his "poor soule"; that he should pursue his sport as much as possible alone that he might serve God devoutly saying his accustomed prayer, and thus he would escape many vices and temptations and "have the blessynge of God & Saynt Petyr, whyche he theym graunte that with his precyous blood vs boughte."

The treatyse has been greatly admired for the beauty and simplicity of its language, and has been more or less used by all subsequent writers on the gentle craft, to whom it has formed the model of morality, meditation, gentleness, and kindness, which are supposed to be the special characteristics of the angler.

¶ Here begynnyth the treatyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle.

SAlamon in his parablys sayth that a good spyryte makyth a flourynge aege; that is a fayre aege & a longe. And syth it is soo: I aske this questyons. whiche ben the meanes & the causes that enduce a man in to a mery spyryte.: Truly to my beste dyscrecōn it semeth good dysportes & honest gamys in whom a man I oyeth wythout ony repentannce after. Thenne folowyth it ẏ gode dysportes & honest games ben cause of mannys fayr aege & longe life. And therfore now woll I chose of foure good disportes & honeste gamys; that is to wyte: of huntynge: hawkynge: fysshynge: & foulynge. The beste to my symple dyscrecōn whyche is fysshynge: callyd Anglynge wyth a rodde: and a lyne

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Mr. Elliot Stock has in the press, *The Book of St. Albans*, containing the treatises on "huntynge, hawkynge, and foulynge" mentioned in the foregoing Notice, which will form a Companion Volume to the Treatyse on Fysshynge wyth an Angle. It is being printed in *fac-simile*, re-produced by photography, of the first edition printed in 1486 by the schoolmaster-printer at St. Albans, upon hand-made paper, similar to that of the original, and it is to be bound in handsome binding of a contemporary character. The original treatises will be preceded by an Introduction by Mr. William Blades, author of the "Life and Typography of Caxton," who will treat at length, in separate chapters, of the Authorship, Bibliography, Subject Matter, and Philology of the work.

The Rev. Alfred Gatty, D.D., Vicar of Ecclesfield, has announced his intention to publish a revised edition of *The History* and *Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*, by that eminent scholar and antiquary, the late Rev, Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. Mr. Hunter left an annotated copy of his work, which is now in the possession of the Rev. Canon Jackson, of Leigh-Delemere, Wilts. Mr. Hunter's notes will be incorporated into the text, to which will be added much new material, which is now being collected by many able assistants.

Messrs. W. Swan Sonnenschein and Allen will publish shortly a popular account of the mythology and superstitions of the Old Norsemen under the title of *Asgard and the Gods: Tales and Traditions of our Northern Ancestors*, by Dr. W. Wagner and Miss Macdowall. It is said it will be very fully illustrated and will be of considerable value for understanding the allusions of several of our poets to old Scandinavian heroes.

The Rev. H. E. Reynolds, M.A., Librarian of Exeter Cathedral, has very nearly completed a very important contribution to ecclesiastical history, to be entitled *Ordinale et Statuta S. Andree Cathedralis Wellen.* It is edited from a MS. in Lambeth Library; to which he will add an explanatory preface, containing much valuable information from the Registers of the Dean and Chapter of Wells.

Mr. J. P. Anderson, of the British Museum, is about to publish, under the title of *The Book of British Topography*, a classified catalogue of the topographical Works in the Library of the British Museum. It is to form a guide to the extensive collection of books of that class relating to the whole of the United Kingdom, arranged under different sections: The works relating, generally, to Great Britain; to Great Britain and Ireland; to England; to Wales; to Scotland; and to Ireland, according to the nature of their contents, under various sub-heads; whilst the books relating to particular counties will be arranged alphabetically under the places or localities in each, and, as far as practicable, in chronological order.

The vast collection of works of this class in the Museum Library, from the want of a special catalogue, may almost be pronounced "Chaos," and Mr. Anderson's volume, the result of many years' labour, will be found a most valuable assistance to those who frequent the Museum Library for topographical purposes.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 3, line 24. For "Rev. H. B. Blacker" read "Rev. B. H. Blacker.'
,, 25. For "Parish" read "Parishes."
Page 15 ,, 15. For "Champered" read "Chamfered."
,, 40. For "id" read "in," and for "proptu" read "propter."
,, 43. For "entraohi" read "extrahi," and for "impni" read "imponi."
Page 20 ,, 26. For "1578" read "789."
,, 33 ,, 31 and 44. For "Stump" read "Tump."
,, 67 last line. For "acorss" read "across."
,, 89 ,, 14. For "stragetic" read "strategical."
,, 105, second descent, line 4. For "Vandreuil" read "Vaudreuil."
,, 108 line 22. For "vicecomititu" read "vicecomitatu."
,, 125 ,, 22. For "previously" read "previous."
,, 151 ,, 15. For "Roger's" read "Ralph's."
,, 185 ,, 31 and 32. Transpose these lines.
,, 250 ,, 26. Delete (Plate VII. M.)
,, 259, note line 2. For "grave-stone" read "grave-stones."
,, 268, note 1. For "4th century" read "14th century."
,, 282, line 22. For "Ledgers stones" read "Ledger-stones."
,, 313, ,, 6. For "Pariquy" read "Parigny."

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NOTE.—*The names printed in italics are mentioned in the Domesday Survey though the Domesday spelling has been generally modernised.*

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December 6th, 1880.

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Heane, William Crawshay, The Lawn, Cinderford
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